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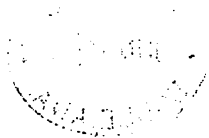
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ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ

Z. H.

THE CYROPÆDIA OF XENOPHON

BOOKS VII AND VIII

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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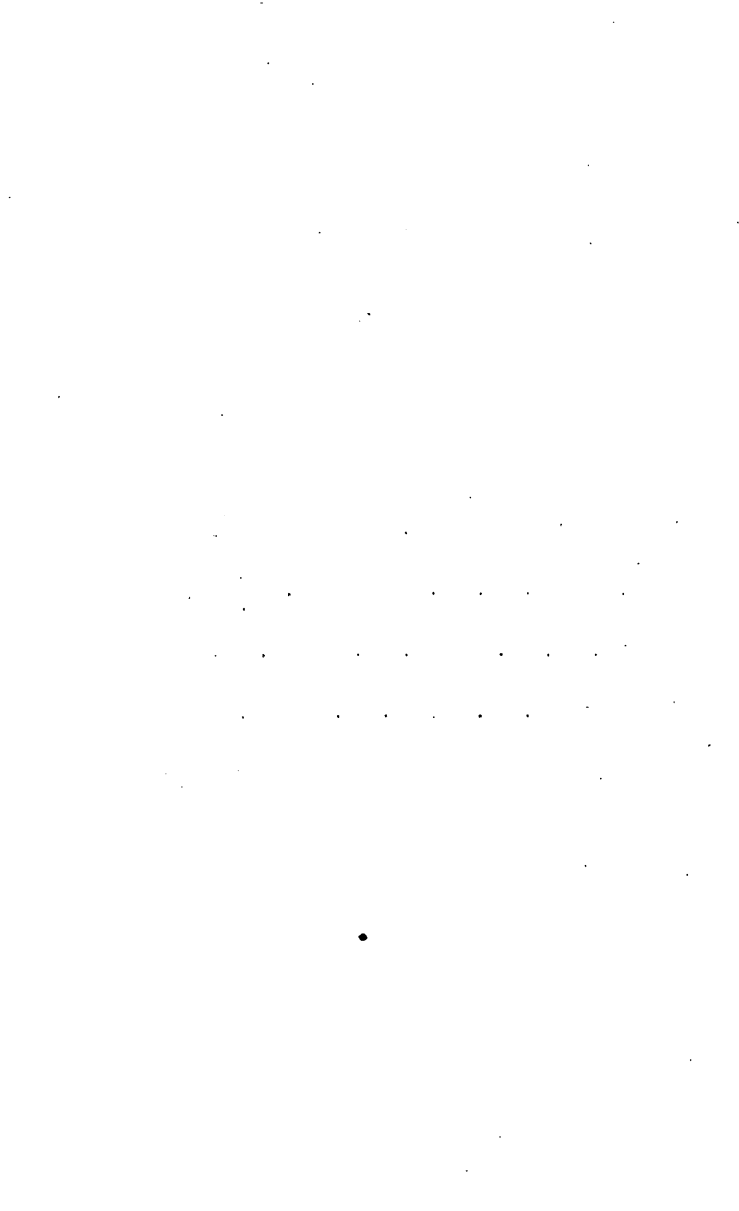
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	vii
TEXT.	1
NOTES	118
APPENDIX	167



INTRODUCTION.

I.

XENOPHON'S 'CYROPAEDIA' * is one of the earliest known examples of the historical romance, in which accuracy of fact is subordinated to the author's literary or (as in this case) moral purpose. Cyrus, the founder of Persian greatness, is taken as hero: and in sketching his bringing-up with its developments in early manhood Xenophon really sets out his own theories of education and sovereignty as ideally realized. The didactic aim of the work would probably seem to him justification enough for its want of historic truth: but it is also plain from Herodotus (i. 95) that to get such truth about Cyrus was not easy for a Greek. Out of the legends encompassing Cyrus' personality Xenophon has chosen such materials as suited his purpose: nor has Herodotus really done otherwise when he gives τὸν ἑόντα λόγον, 'though with knowledge, as touching Cyrus, of yet three other ways, how to tell the tale.' Xenophon's account may be shortly put as follows.

Cyrus, son of Cambyses, king of the Persians, is brought up till the age of twelve in his father's court,

* This is a corruption of the Greek title *Κύρου Παιδεία* (Education of Cyrus), and has no justification in classical usage, beyond a doubtful reference in Plutarch. Cicero in referring to the work either uses the Greek title, or translates it by *Cyri vita et disciplina* (Brutus, 112): in modern Latin, *Cyri Paedia* or *Cyri Institutio* is generally found.

in the strictest Persian training* (Book I. 2). He then spends four or five years at the court of his grandfather Astyages, king of the Medes (I. 3, 4), is recalled to Persia, passes through the ten-years' course of discipline prescribed for the ἑφηβοί, and, at about the age of twenty-seven, is sent in command of a Persian force to help his uncle Cyaxares (who had succeeded Astyages on the Median throne) against the king of Assyria (I. 5). On joining his uncle, Cyrus devotes himself to organizing the combined forces into thorough efficiency (Book II.): after reducing Armenia (III. 1), he successfully attacks the Assyrians (III. 3), and prevails on Cyaxares to allow him to follow up his success with the Persian contingent and volunteers from among the Medes (Book IV.). From this point onwards, he really exercises an independent command, successfully continuing his advance upon Assyria, and receiving the submission of several Assyrian tributaries (Book V.): until, after thoroughly acquainting himself with the numbers and organization of the Assyrian forces now under the command of the Lydian king Croesus, he resolves to try a more general engagement in the neighbourhood of Sardis (Book VI.).

This summary, which may serve as introduction to the two books here edited, has necessarily passed over several names and episodes either historically subordinate or belonging to the work rather on its romance-side. Such of them as have an important bearing upon Books VII. and VIII. are subjoined, in the order in which they are therein referred to.

1. *Chrysantas*. A Persian ὁμότιμος or peer, described as of slight and weakly bodily presence (II. 3, § 5), but of much practical wisdom, as shown in his advice that

* Cf. § IV., below.

all booty should be divided according to merit (II. 2, § 19). His success in the reduction of Armenia seems to have raised him high in Cyrus' esteem: and he had done good service in re-establishing the confidence of the troops on whom the report of the Assyrian numbers had had a bad effect (VI. 2, § 21).

Abradatas. Prince of the Susians, whose country (*Ζουσιανή* or *Ζουσις*), with Susa for its capital, seems to have been bordered by the mountain range Parachoathras (the south-eastern extremity of the Taurus) on north and east, the river Tigris on the west, and the Persian gulf on the south. He had joined the Assyrian king, whose vassal he was; and while he was absent on a mission to make alliance with the prince of Bactria, his wife *Pantheia* whom he had left in the Assyrian camp fell, on the taking of the camp by the Persians, into Cyrus' hands (IV. 6, § 11). Receiving honourable treatment from Cyrus, *Pantheia* persuaded her husband to give up his allegiance to the Assyrian king (*ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων καὶ ἐπεχείρησέ ποτε ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα διασπάσαι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων*, VI. 1, § 45) and take part with Cyrus. *Abradatas* henceforward was one of Cyrus' most zealous helpers, devoting himself specially to the organization of the chariot-force. In the arrangements before the decisive battle near Sardis, *Abradatas* drew by lot the place of most honour and danger among the chariot-commanders: to which his wife sent him forth, after arming and adorning him with work of her own hands (VI. 4, §§ 2-11).

Hystaspas. A Persian, first mentioned in Book II. 2, § 2, without special introduction, as if a well-known person. He belonged to the *ὁμότιμοι* (IV. 2, § 46), and was father of Darius I. (Herodotus i. 209).

Pantheia. Cf. note above on *Abradatas*.

Gadatas. One of the satraps of the Assyrian king, made by him an eunuch (V. 2, § 28): on Cyrus' invasion of Assyria, Gadatas surrendered a stronghold which he commanded and joined the Persians in hope of revenge (V. 4, § 29).

Gobryas. A wealthy Assyrian, holding command under the king, who surrendered himself to Cyrus shortly before Gadatas. Like Gadatas, he had suffered from the cruelty of the Assyrian king, who had killed his only son out of jealousy at his success in the chase (IV. 6, §§ 1-10).

Artabazus. A Mede, first introduced in Book I. 4, § 27, as claiming relationship with Cyrus in order to get a kiss from him. Being in the allied army under Cyaxares and Cyrus, Artabazus was chosen by the latter to win over Median volunteers for separate service under himself (IV. 1, § 23). This he successfully accomplished: and he appears again as doing good service in influencing the Median contingent to stay with Cyrus (V. 1, § 23), in advising that the war be vigorously pushed on (VI. 1, § 9), and in freeing Pantheia from annoyance (VI. 1, § 34). He was *χιλίαρχος* of infantry in the battle near Sardis (VI. 3, § 31).

Pheraulas. A Persian, of plebeian origin, described at his first introduction in Book II. 3, § 7 (where he supports Chrysantas' proposal to divide booty according to merit, and adds that Cyrus should be umpire) as 'a familiar of Cyrus' in Persia and one who was pleasing to him, not ignoble in person, and in soul not like a man of no birth.'

Tigranes. Eldest son of the king of Armenia, whose cause he successfully pleaded before Cyrus (formerly his school-fellow) after the Persian victory (III. 1, § 14). He afterwards joined Cyrus' army with an Armenian force (III. 1, § 42).

II.

References are made in the beginning of Book VII. to Cyrus' arrangement of his forces against the Assyrians in the final battle. The account given in Book VI. 3, § 21 seqq. is as follows. Each λόχος of twenty-four men is drawn up two deep, thus having a front of twelve. The phalanx, composed of (1) cuirassiers, (2) dart-throwers, (3) archers, and (4) veteran reserves, is eight men deep as a whole. In front of the phalanx are the hundred scythe-chariots commanded by Abradatas, another hundred following the advance of the phalanx on right and left respectively: while the wings are occupied by the cavalry. Immediately behind the phalanx are wooden towers on wheels, carrying twenty men each: next to these the baggage-carriers, and then the chariots carrying the women: after them, two infantry companies of a thousand men each, with a number of men mounted on camels.

III.

SUMMARIES OF BOOKS VII AND VIII.

BOOK VII.

Advance of Cyrus' forces (I. §§ 1-4): on coming in sight of the enemy, Cyrus explains the plan of battle to his officers, and goes through the ranks encouraging his men (§§ 5-22): Croesus attacks in three divisions (§§ 23-24): Cyrus and Artageras repulse the right and left Lydian wings respectively (§§ 25-28): Abradatas engages Croesus' centre and gains a temporary advantage (§§ 29-31): death of Abradatas: the Persian advance is checked by the firmness of the Egyptians (§§ 32-35): Cyrus disables the Egyptians by an attack in rear: flight of the Assyrian

army (§§ 36-40) : honourable offers of peace are accepted by the Egyptians : Cyrus encamps for the night (§§ 41-45) : analysis of the victory (§§ 46-49).

Croesus, pursued by Cyrus to Sardis, surrenders on the capture of the city : plundering on the part of the Chaldeans having been checked, the Persian army encamps (II. §§ 1-8) : meeting of Cyrus and Croesus (§§ 9-25) : Croesus receives clement treatment from Cyrus (§§ 26-29).

Disposal of the Lydian treasure (III. § 1) : funeral honours to Abradatas : suicide of Pantheia (§§ 2-16). Settlement of disturbances among the Carians (IV. §§ 1-7) : reduction of lesser Phrygia (§§ 8-11) : advance of Cyrus upon Babylon (§§ 12-16).

Cyrus after a reconnoissance of Babylon surrounds the city with a trench (V. §§ 1-14) : taking advantage of a Babylonian night-feast, he draws off the water of the Euphrates and opens a way along the bed of the river into the city (§§ 15-19) : his speech to his officers (§§ 20-25) : capture of Babylon (§§ 26-32) : disarmament of the Babylonians and resettlement of the city (§§ 33-36) : gradual establishment of his personal sovereignty by Cyrus (§§ 37-57) : formation of a body-guard, palace-guard, and city-watch (§§ 58-69) : exhortation of Cyrus to his friends and chief men (§§ 70-86).

BOOK VIII.

Speech of Chrysantas in favour of absolute obedience to Cyrus (I. §§ 1-5) : the *ἐντιμοὶ* bind themselves to Cyrus' personal service (§§ 6-8) : Cyrus' domestic policy (§§ 9-15) : means of securing attendance at court (§§ 16-20) : his enforcement of his wishes by example (§§ 21-33) : institution of hunting as a regular exercise (§§ 34-39) : rules as

to dress and behaviour of the *ἐντιμοὶ* (§§ 40–42): Cyrus' policy towards the subject-classes (§§ 43–48).

Analysis of Cyrus' popularity (II.): he goes in procession to sacrifice (III. §§ 1–24): the sacrifice is followed by horse-races: victory of a Sacan: his introduction to Pheraulas (§§ 25–34): return to the city: Pheraulas makes over his possessions to the Sacan (§§ 34–50).

Banquet of Cyrus and his friends: betrothal of Hystaspas to the daughter of Gobryas (IV. §§ 1–27): provision for the allies of the Persians: distribution of treasure taken at Sardis (§§ 28–31): Cyrus obviates misunderstandings by a declaration of his own possessions (§§ 31–36).

Cyrus leaves Babylon for Persia (V. §§ 1–16): visits Cyaxares, who offers him his daughter in marriage (§§ 17–20): Cambyzes on Cyrus' arrival in Persia makes a covenant between the Persians and him as their future sovereign (§§ 21–27): marriage of Cyrus and return to Babylon (§ 28). Assignment of satraps to the subject-nations (VI. §§ 1–16): arrangements for quick transmission of intelligence (§§ 17–18): final conquests of Cyrus: places of residence (§§ 19–23).

Cyrus revisiting Persia is warned in a dream to prepare for death (VII. §§ 1–2): calls together his children and friends (§§ 3–5): farewell speech of Cyrus on his death-bed (§§ 6–28).

[Degeneration of Persia after Cyrus' death (VIII.).]

IV.

References to the training of the Persian *ἐπιτρόμοι* are made in several places of Books VII. and VIII. The following is a summary of what Xenophon describes in Book I. 2, § 3 seqq. The Persian boy began his education by 'learning justice' in precept and example, the teachers

spending most of the day in settling differences among the boys. Archery and spear-throwing were their gymnastic: temperance in diet was secured by their taking their meals in the teacher's presence. This course lasted till the sixteenth or seventeenth year, when the boy entered the class of ἔφηβοι and began a period of ten years' service to the state, his time day and night being entirely at the disposal of the king or the officers of the government. His way of life during this period was as simple and rigorous as among the boys: his duties were 'whatever things demand strength and swiftness.' At the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven a Persian joined the τέλειοι ἄνδρες, and might be called out on military service or fill a state-office. His stay in this class lasted twenty-five years, and he then, at the age of rather more than fifty, was enrolled among the γεραίτεροι, no longer liable to military service outside Persia, and presiding over the courts of justice and the election of state-officers. This system of education, and through it, every honour in the state, was open to all Persians alike, though, of course, only such children entered on it as by their parents' circumstances were free from the necessity of working for their living. Each stage was an indispensable preparation for the succeeding one: no one, *e.g.*, might receive the education of the ἔφηβοι unless he had passed through that of the boys. The place of education, for all four divisions, was the ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά, a space surrounded by the king's palace and other public offices: the times and length of attendance here varied with the different grades of training.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ Ζ'.

I.

Advance of Cyrus' forces.

ΟΙ μὲν δὴ, εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀπῆσαν πρὸς τὰς τάξεις· τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν προσήνεγκαν οἱ θεράποντες ἐμπιεῖν καὶ φαγεῖν ἔτι οὐσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερά. ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐστηκώς, ἀπαρξάμενος ἡρίστα, καὶ μετεδίδου ἀεὶ τῷ μάλιστα δεομένῳ· καὶ σπείσας καὶ εὐξάμενος ἔπει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐποιοῦν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἰτησάμενος Δία πατρῶον ἡγεμόνα εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον, ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ὥπλισμένοι δὲ πάν- 2
τες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κύρον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Κύρῳ ὅπλοις, χιτῶσι φοινικοῖς, θώραξι χαλκοῖς, κράνεσι χαλκοῖς, λόφοις λευκοῖς, μαχαίραις, παλτῷ κρανεῖνῳ ἐνὶ ἑκα-
στος· οἱ δὲ ἵπποι προμετωπιδίοις καὶ προστερνιδίοις καὶ παραμηριδίοις χαλκοῖς· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα παρα-
μηρίδια ἦν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ· τοσοῦτον μόνον διέφερε

τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσούμεθα. παρέσομαι δὲ καὶ γὼ
ἢ ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα διώκων τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἣν οἱ
θεοὶ θέλωσι.

- 10 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ σύνθημα παρεγγυήσας Ζεὺς
σωτήρ καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐπορεύετο. μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν
ἀρμάτων καὶ τῶν θωρακοφόρων διαπορευόμενος
ὁπότε προσβλέψειέ τινας τῶν ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι, τότε
μὲν εἶπεν ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὡς ἡδὺ ὑμῶν τὰ πρόσωπα
θεάσασθαι· τοτὲ δ' αὖ ἐν ἄλλοις ἂν ἔλεξεν, Ἄρα
ἐννοεῖτε, ἄνδρες, ὅτι ὁ νῦν ἀγὼν ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον περὶ
τῆς τήμερον νίκης, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ἦν
11 νενικήκατε, καὶ περὶ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας ; ἐν ἄλλοις
δ' ἂν προῖων εἶπεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδέν
ποτε ἔτι θεοὺς αἰτιατέον ἔτι ἔσται· παραδεδώκασι
γὰρ ἡμῖν πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ κτήσασθαι· ἀλλ'
12 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενώμεθα. κατ' ἄλλους δ' αὖ τοι-
άδε, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰς τίνα ποτ' ἂν καλλίονα ἔρα-
νον ἀλλήλους παρακαλέσαιμεν ἢ εἰς τόνδε ; νῦν
γὰρ ἔξεστιν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γενομένοις πολλὰ
13 καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀλλήλοις εἰσενεγκεῖν. κατ' ἄλλους δ' αὖ,
Ἐπίστασθε μὲν, οἶμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι νῦν ἄθλα πρό-
κειται τοῖς νικῶσι μὲν διώκειν, παίειν, κατακαίνειν
ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν, καλὰ ἀκούειν, ἐλευθέροις εἶναι, ἄρχειν·
τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς δῆλον ὅτι τάναντία τούτων. ὅστις
οὖν αὐτὸν φιλεῖ, μετ' ἐμοῦ μαχέσθω· ἐγὼ γὰρ
κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν ἐκὼν εἶναι προσήσομαι.
14 ὁπότε δ' αὖ γένοιτο κατὰ τινας τῶν πρόσθεν συμ-
μαχεσαμένων, εἶπεν ἄν, Πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες,
τί δεῖ λέγειν ; ἐπίστασθε γὰρ οἶαν τε οἱ ἀγαθοὶ
ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἡμέραν ἄγουσι, καὶ οἶαν οἱ κακοί.

καμπήν ποιοῦνται ; Πάνυ γε, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, καὶ θαυμάζω γε· πολὺ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀποσπᾶν τὰ κέρατα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ ἀπὸ γε τῆς ἡμετέρας. Τί γ' δὴ τοῦτο ; Δῆλον ὅτι, ἔφη, φοβούμενοι, μή, ἣν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν γένηται τὰ κέρατα τῆς φάλαγγος ἔτι πρόσω οὔσης, ἐπιθώμεθα αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειτ', ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, πῶς δυνήσονται ὠφελεῖν οἱ ἕτεροι τοὺς ἑτέρους, οὕτω πολὺ ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων ; Ἀλλὰ δῆλον, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὅτι, ἥνικα ἂν γένηται τὰ κέρατα ἀναβαίνοντα κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῶν πλαγίων τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρατεύματος, στραφέντες ὥς εἰς φάλαγγα ἅμα πάντοθεν ἡμῖν προσίασιν, ὥς ἅμα πάντοθεν μαχοῦμενοι. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, εὖ σοι δοκοῦσι βουλευέσθαι ; Πρὸς γε ἂν ὀρώσι· πρὸς δὲ ἂν οὐχ ὀρώσιν, ἔτι κάκιον ἢ εἰ κατὰ κέρας προσῆσαν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρσάμα, ἡγοῦ τῷ πεζῷ ἡρέμα, ὥσπερ ἐμὲ ὀρᾷς· καὶ σύ, ὦ Χρυσάντα, ἐν ἴσῳ τούτῳ τὰ ἵππικόν ἔχων συμπαρέπου. ἐγὼ δὲ ἅπειμι ἐκεῖσε ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ἄρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης· ἅμα δὲ παριὼν ἐπισκέψομαι ἕκαστα πῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐκεῖ γένωμαι, ὅταν ἤδη ὁμοῦ προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις γιγνώμεθα, παιᾶνα ἐξάρξω, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπέλγεσθε. ἥνικα δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς ἐγχειρῶμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, αἰσθήσεσθε μὲν, οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ὀλίγος θόρυβος ἔσται, ὀρμήσεται δὲ τηνικαῦτα Ἀβραδάτας ἤδη σὺν τοῖς ἄρμασιν εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰρήσεται· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ἔπεσθαι ἐχομένους ὅτι μάλιστ' αὐτῶν ἁρμάτων· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα τοῖς ποδ

πάντως παρελάσας παρὰ τὰ σαυτοῦ ἄρματα παρακάλει τοὺς σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὴν ἐμβολήν, τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ παραθαρρύνων, ταῖς δ' ἐλπίσιν ἐπικουφίζων. ὅπως δὲ κράτιστοι φανείσθε τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασι, φιλονικίαν αὐτοῖς ἔμβαλλε· καὶ γάρ, εὖ ἴσθι, ἣν τάδε εὖ γένηται, πάντες ἐροῦσι τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲν εἶναι κερδαλεώτερον ἀρετῆς. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀβραδάτας ἀναβὰς παρήλαυνε καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίει.

- 19 Ὁ δ' αὖ Κῦρος παριὼν ὡς ἐγένετο πρὸς τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, ἔνθα ὁ Ὑστάσπας τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔχων ἦν τῶν Περσῶν ἱππέων, ὀνομάσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν, ὦ Ὑστάσπα, νῦν ὁρᾷς ἔργον τῆς σῆς ταχυεργίας· νῦν γὰρ εἰ φθάσομεν τοὺς πολεμίους κατακανόντες, οὐδεὶς 20 ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖται. καὶ ὁ Ὑστάσπας ἐπυγελάσας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῖν μελήσει· τοὺς δ' ἐκ πλαγίου σὺ ἄλλοις πρόσταξον, ὅπως μὴδ' οὗτοι σχολάζωσι. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γε τούτους ἐγὼ αὐτοὺς παρέρχομαι· ἀλλ', ὦ Ὑστάσπα, τόδε μέμνησο· ὅτῳ ἂν ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς νίκην δίδῃ, ἦν τί πού μένη πολέμιον, πρὸς τὸ μαχόμενον 21 ἀεὶ συμβάλλωμεν. ταῦτα εἰπὼν προήει. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλευρὸν παριὼν ἐγένετο καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ταύτῃ ἁρμάτων, πρὸς τοῦτον ἔλεξεν, Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔρχομαι ὑμῖν ἐπικουρήσων· ἀλλ' ὁπότεν αἰσθησθε ἡμᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένους κατ' ἄκρον, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς πειρᾶσθε ἅμα διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν· πολὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ἔσεσθε, 22 ἔξω γενόμενοι, ἢ ἐνδον ἀπολαμβανόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ παριὼν ἐγένετο ὀπισθεν τῶν ἄρμαμαξῶν, Ἀρταγέρσαν μὲν καὶ Φαρνούχον ἐκέλευσεν ἔχοντας

τὴν τε τῶν πεζῶν χιλιοστὺν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἵππεων μένειν αὐτοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ δ', ἔφη, αἰσθάνησθε ἐμοῦ ἐπιτιθεμένου τοῖς κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖτε· μαχεῖσθε δ', ἔφη, πρὸς κέρασ, ὥσπερ ἀσθενέστατον στράτευμα γίγνεται, φάλαγγας ἔχοντες, ὥσπερ ἂν ἰσχυρότατοι εἴητε. καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῖς οἱ ἰσχυροί· πάντως δὲ πρόετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν καμήλων τάξιν· καὶ εὖ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ πρὶν μάχεσθαι γελοῖους τοὺς πολεμίους θεάσεσθε.

Croesus attacks in three divisions.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ 23 τὸ δεξιὸν παρῆει. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος νομίσας ἤδη ἐγγύτερον εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν φάλαγγα σὺν ἧ αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο ἢ τὰ ἀνατεινόμενα κέρατα, ἦρε τοῖς κέρασι σημεῖον μηκέτι ἄνω πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στραφῆναι. ὡς δ' ἴστησαν ἀντία πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Κύρου στράτευμα ὁρῶντες, ἐσήμηνεν αὐτοῖς πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ οὕτω δὴ προσῆσαν τρεῖς φάλαγγες ἐπὶ τὸ 24 Κύρου στράτευμα· ἡ μὲν μία κατὰ πρόσωπον, τὼ δὲ δύο, ἡ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον· ὥστε πολὺν φόβον παρεῖναι πᾶσιν τῇ Κύρου στρατιᾷ. ὥσπερ γὰρ μικρὸν πλινθίον ἐν μεγάλῳ τεθέν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα πάντοθεν περιείχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἵππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις καὶ πελτοφόροις καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἄρμασι.

Cyrus and Artagerses repulse the right and left Lydian wings respectively.

- 25 "Ομως δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπεὶ παρήγγειλεν, ἐστράφησαν πάντες ἀντιπρόσωποι τοῖς πολεμοῖς· καὶ ἦν μὲν πολλὴ πανταχόθεν συγὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον ὀκνεῖν· ἥνίκα δὲ ἔδοξε τῷ Κύρῳ καιρὸς εἶναι, ἐξῆρχε παιᾶνα, συνεπήχησε δὲ πᾶς ὁ στρατός.
- 26 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ τε ἅμα ἐπηλάλαξαν καὶ ἐξανίσταται ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων λαβὼν πλαγίους τοὺς πολεμίους ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς τὴν ταχιστην συνεμίνυνεν· οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ συντεταγμένοι ταχὺ ἐφείποντο, καὶ περιεπτύσσοντο ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ὥστε πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτει· φάλαγγι γὰρ κατὰ κέρας προσέβαλλεν· ὥστε ταχὺ ἰσχυρὰ φυγὴ ἐγένετο τοῖς πολεμοῖς.
- 27 Ὡς δὲ ᾗσθητο Ἀρταγέρσης ἐν ἔργῳ ὄντα τὸν Κῦρον, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα, προεῖς τὰς καμήλους ὥσπερ Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν· οἱ δὲ ἵπποι αὐτὰς ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐκφρονες γυγνόμενοι ἔφευγον, οἱ δ' ἐξήλλοντο, οἱ δ' ἐνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις. τοιαῦτα γὰρ
- 28 πάσχουσιν ἵπποι ὑπὸ καμήλων· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταγέρσης συντεταγμένους ἔχων τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ταραττομένοις ἐπέκειτο· καὶ τὰ ἄρματα δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἅμα ἐνέβαλλε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τὰ ἄρματα φεύγοντες ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ κέρας ἐπομένων ἀπέθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ τούτους φεύγοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἠλίσκοντο.

Abroadatates engages Croesus' centre and gains a temporary advantage.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας δὲ οὐκέτι ἐμελλεν, ἀλλὰ 29
 βοήσας, Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἔπεσθε, ἐνίει οὐδὲν φειδόμενος τῶν ἵππων, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρῶς ἐξαιμάττων τῇ κέντρῳ. συνεξώρμησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρμα-
 τηλάται. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρματα ἐφευγεν αὐτοὺς εὐθύς, τὰ μὲν καὶ ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς παραιβάτας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπολιπόντα. ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀντικρὺ 30
 δι' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φάλαγγα ἐμβάλλει· συνεισέβαλλον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τεταγμένοι. πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοθι δῆλον, ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχυροτέρα φάλαγξ ἢ ὅταν ἐκ φίλων συμμάχων ἡθροισμένη ᾖ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐδήλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐταῖροί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι συνεισέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἡνίοχοι, ὥς εἶδον ὑπομένοντας πολλῷ στίφει τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἐξέκλιναν κατὰ τὰ φεύγοντα ἄρματα, καὶ τούτοις ἐφείποντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀβραδάταν, ἣ μὲν ἐνέβαλλον, 31
 ἅτε οὐ δυναμένων διαχάσασθαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, διὰ τὸ μένειν τοὺς ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ὀρθοὺς τῇ ρύμῃ τῶν ἵππων παίοντες ἀνέτρεπον, τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας κατηλόν, καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὄπλα, καὶ ἵπποις καὶ τροχοῖς. ὅτου δ' ἐπιλάβοιτο τὰ δρέπανα, πάντα βία διεκόπτετο, καὶ ὄπλα καὶ σώματα.

Death of Abradatas. The Persian advance is checked by the firmness of the Egyptians.

- 32 Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀδιηγήτῳ τούτῳ τaráχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν παντοδαπῶν σωρευμάτων ἐξαλλομένων τῶν τροχῶν, ἐκπίπτει ὁ Ἀβραδάτας καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν συνεισβαλόντων· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι κατεκόπησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι συνεπισπόμενοι, ἥ μὲν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ἐνέβαλε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ταύτῃ συνεισπεσόντες τεταραγμένους ἐφόνευσαν· ἥ δὲ ἀπαθείς ἐγένοντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, πολλοὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἦσαν, ἐχώρουν ἐναντίοι
- 33 τοῖς Πέρσαις. ἔνθα δὴ δεινὴ μάχη ἦν καὶ δοράτων καὶ ξυστῶν καὶ μαχαιρῶν· ἐπλεονέκτουν μέντοι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις· τά τε γὰρ δόρατα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ μακρὰ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, αἳ τε ἀσπίδες πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν θωράκων καὶ τῶν γέρρων καὶ στεγάζουσι τὰ σώματα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὠθεῖσθαι συνεργάζονται, πρὸς τοῖς ὤμοις οὔσαι. συγκλείσαντες οὖν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐχώρουν
- 34 καὶ ἐώθουν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ἅτε ἐν ἄκραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ γέρρα ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχάζοντο παίοντες καὶ παιόμενοι, ἕως ὑπὸ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐγένοντο. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον, ἐπαίοντο αὖθις οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων· καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ οὐκ εἶων φεύγειν οὔτε τοὺς τοξότας οὔτε τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς, ἀλλ' ἀνατεταμένοι τὰς μαχαίρας ἠνάγκαζον καὶ τοξεύειν
- 25 καὶ ἀκοντίζειν. ἦν δὲ πολὺς μὲν ἀνδρῶν φόνος, πολὺς δὲ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν,

πολλή δὲ βοή τῶν μὲν ἀνακαλούντων ἀλλήλους, τῶν δὲ παρακελευομένων, τῶν δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλουμένων.

Cyrus disables the Egyptians by an attack in rear.
Flight of the Assyrian army.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κύρος διώκων τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν 36 παραγίγνεται. ὥς δ' εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἔωσμένους, ἤλγησέ τε καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἂν θάπτον σχοίη τοὺς πολεμίους τῆς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προόδου ἢ εἰ εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν περιελάσσειεν αὐτῶν, παραγγείλας ἔπεςθαι τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ περιήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν· καὶ εἰσπεσόντες παίουσιν ἀφορώντας καὶ πολλοὺς κατακαίνουσιν. οἱ δὲ 37 Αἰγύπτιοι ὥς ἦσθοντο, ἐβόων τε ὅτι ὀπισθεν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐστρέφοντο ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ φύρδην ἐμάχοντο καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς· πεπτωκὼς δέ τις ὑπὸ τῷ Κύρου ἵππῳ καὶ πατούμενος παίει εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἵππος πληγείς σφαδάζων ἀποσεύεται τὸν Κύρον. ἔνθα δὴ ἔγνω ἄν τις ὅσου ἄξιον εἴη τὸ 38 φιλεῖσθαι ἄρχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. εὐθύς γὰρ ἀνεβόησάν τε πάντες καὶ προσπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, ἐώθουν, ἐωθούντο, ἔπαιον, ἐπαίοντο. καταπηδήσας δέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τῶν τοῦ Κύρου ὑπηρετῶν, ἀναβάλλει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἵππον. ὥς δὲ ἀνέβη ὁ Κύρος, κατεῖδε πάντοθεν ἤδη παιο- 39 μένους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· καὶ γὰρ Ὑστάσπας ἤδη παρῆν σὺν τοῖς Περσῶν ἵππεύσι, καὶ Χρυσάντας. ἀλλὰ τούτους ἐμβαλλεῖν μὲν οὐκέτι εἶα εἰς τὴν φά-

λαγγα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἐκέλευεν. ὥς δ' ἐγένετο περιελαύνων παρὰ τὰς μηχανάς, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων τινὰ καὶ κατασκέψασθαι, εἴ πη καὶ
 40 ἄλλο τι μένοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μάχοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβη, κατείδε μεστὸν τὸ πεδίον ἵππων, ἀνθρώπων, ἀρμάτων, φευγόντων, διωκόντων, κρατούντων, κρατουμένων· μένον δ' οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἡδύν-
 ατο κατιδεῖν, πλὴν τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. οὗτοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἠποροῦντο, κύκλον ποιησάμενοι, ὥστε ὁρᾶ-
 σθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐκάθηντο· καὶ ἐποιοῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἔπασχον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά.

Honourable offers of peace are accepted by the Egyptians. Cyrus encamps for the night.

- 41 Ἀγασθεὶς δὲ ὁ Κῦρος αὐτούς, καὶ οἰκτείρων, ὅτι ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀπώλλυντο, ἀνεχώρισε πάντας τοὺς περιμαχομένους, καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα ἔτι. εἶα. πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς κήρυκα, ἐρωτῶν, πότερα βούλονται ἀπολέσθαι πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν προδεδωκότων αὐτούς, ἢ σωθῆναι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι. οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο, Πῶς δ' ἂν
 42 ἡμεῖς σωθείημεν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι; ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πάλιν ἔλεγεν, Ὅτι ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς ὀρώμεν μόνους καὶ μένοντας καὶ μάχεσθαι θέλοντας. Ἀλλὰ τοῦντεῦθεν, ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, τί καὶ καλὸν ἂν ποιοῦντες σωθείημεν; καὶ ὁ Κῦρος αὖ πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν, Εἰ τῶν τε συμμαχομένων μηδένα προδόντες σωθείητε, τά τε ὅπλα ἡμῖν παραδόντες, φίλοι τε

γενόμενοι τοῖς αἰρουμένοις ὑμᾶς σῶσαι, ἐξὸν ἀπο-
 λέσαι. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπήρουντο, Ἦν δὲ γενώ- 43
 μεθά σοι φίλοι, τί ἡμῖν ἀξιώσεις χρήσθαι; ἀπε-
 κρίνατο ὁ Κῦρος, Εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ πάσχειν.
 ἐπηρώτων πάλιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, Τίνα εὐεργεσίαν;
 πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, Μισθὸν μὲν ὑμῖν δοίην
 ἂν πλείονα ἢ νῦν ἐλαμβάνετε, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον πόλε-
 mos ᾗ· εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης, τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμῶν
 μένειν παρ' ἐμοὶ χώραν τε δώσω, καὶ πόλεις, καὶ
 γυναῖκας, καὶ οἰκέτας. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Αἰ- 44
 γύπτιοι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ Κροῖσον συστρατεύειν ἀφελεῖν
 σφίσιν ἐδεήθησαν· τούτῳ γὰρ μόνῳ γιγνώσκεσθαι
 ἔφασαν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα συνομολογήσαντες ἔδωσαν
 πίστιν καὶ ἔλαβον. καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοί τε οἱ κατα- 45
 μέιναντες τότε ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλεῖ πιστοὶ διαμέ-
 νουσι, Κῦρός τε πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, τὰς μὲν ἄνω,
 αἱ ἔτι καὶ νῦν πόλεις Αἰγυπτίων καλοῦνται, Λάρι-
 σαν δὲ καὶ Κυλλήνην παρὰ Κύμην πλησίον
 θαλάττης, αἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἔχουσι.
 ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἤδη σκοταῖος
 ἀναγαγὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Θυμβράροις.

Analysis of the victory.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ, τῶν πολεμίων Αἰγύπτιοι μόνοι 46
 ὑπὸδοκίμησαν· τῶν δὲ σὺν Κύρῳ τὸ Περσῶν ἵππικὸν
 κράτιστον ἔδοξεν εἶναι· ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει ἡ
 ὄπλισις ἣν τότε Κῦρος τοῖς ἵππεύσι κατεσκεύασεν.
 ὑπὸδοκίμησε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρ- 47
 ματα· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει τὸ
 πολεμιστήριον τῷ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντι. αἱ μέντοι 48

λαγγα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἐκέλευεν. ὥς δ' ἐγένετο περιελαύνων παρὰ τὰς μηχανάς, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων τινὰ καὶ κατασκέψασθαι, εἴ πη καὶ
 40 ἄλλο τι μένοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μάχοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβη, κατείδε μεστὸν τὸ πεδίον ἵππων, ἀνθρώπων, ἀρμάτων, φευγόντων, διωκόντων, κρατούντων, κρατουμένων· μένον δ' οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἡδύνατο κατιδεῖν, πλὴν τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. οὗτοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἠποροῦντο, κύκλον ποιησάμενοι, ὥστε ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐκάθηντο· καὶ ἐποιοῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἔπασχον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά.

Honourable offers of peace are accepted by the Egyptians. Cyrus encamps for the night.

41 Ἀγασθεὶς δὲ ὁ Κῦρος αὐτοὺς, καὶ οἰκτείρων, ὅτι ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀπώλλυντο, ἀνεχώρισε πάντας τοὺς περιμαχομένους, καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα ἔτι εἶα. πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς κήρυκα, ἐρωτῶν, πότερα βούλονται ἀπολέσθαι πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν προδεδωκότων αὐτοὺς, ἢ σωθῆναι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι. οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο, Πῶς δ' ἂν
 42 ἡμεῖς σωθείημεν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι; ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πάλιν ἔλεγεν, Ὅτι ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς ὀρώμεν μόνους καὶ μένοντας καὶ μάχεσθαι θέλοντας. Ἀλλὰ τοῦντεῦθεν, ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, τί καὶ καλὸν ἂν ποιοῦντες σωθείημεν; καὶ ὁ Κῦρος αὖ πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν, Εἰ τῶν τε συμμαχομένων μηδένα προδόντες σωθείητε, τά τε ὅπλα ἡμῖν παραδόντες, φίλοι τε

γενόμενοι τοῖς αἰρουμένοις ὑμᾶς σῶσαι, ἐξὸν ἀπο-
 λέσαι. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπήρουντο, Ἦν δὲ γενώ- 43
 μεθά σοι φίλοι, τί ἡμῖν ἀξιώσεις χρήσθαι; ἀπε-
 κρίνατο ὁ Κῦρος, Εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ πᾶσχειν.
 ἐπηρώτων πάλιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, Τίνα εὐεργεσίαν;
 πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, Μισθὸν μὲν ὑμῖν δόλην
 ἂν πλείονα ἢ νῦν ἐλαμβάνετε, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον πόλε-
 mos ἦ· εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης, τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμῶν
 μένειν παρ' ἐμοὶ χώραν τε δώσω, καὶ πόλεις, καὶ
 γυναῖκας, καὶ οἰκέτας. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Αἰ- 44
 γύπτιοι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ Κροῖσον συστρατεύειν ἀφελεῖν
 σφίσιν ἐδεήθησαν· τούτῳ γὰρ μόνῳ γιγνώσκεσθαι
 ἔφασαν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα συνομολογήσαντες ἔδοσαν
 πίστιν καὶ ἔλαβον. καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοί τε οἱ κατα- 45
 μέναντες τότε ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλεῖ πιστοὶ διαμέ-
 νουσι, Κῦρός τε πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, τὰς μὲν ἄνω,
 αἱ ἔτι καὶ νῦν πόλεις Αἰγυπτίων καλοῦνται, Λάρι-
 σαν δὲ καὶ Κυλλήνην παρὰ Κύμην πλησίον
 θαλάττης, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἔχουσι.
 ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἤδη σκοταῖος
 ἀναγαγὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Θυμβράροις.

Analysis of the victory.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ, τῶν πολεμίων Αἰγύπτιοι μόνοι 46
 ἠὺδοκίμησαν· τῶν δὲ σὺν Κύρῳ τὸ Περσῶν ἵππικὸν
 κράτιστον ἔδοξεν εἶναι· ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει ἡ
 ὄπλισις ἣν τότε Κῦρος τοῖς ἵππεῦσι κατεσκεύασεν.
 ἠὺδοκίμησε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρ- 47
 ματα· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει τὸ
 πολεμιστήριον τῷ αἰὲ βασιλεύοντι. αἱ μέντοι 48

κάμηλοι ἐφόβουν μόνον τοὺς ἵππους, οὐ μέντοι κατέκαινόν γε οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἵππεῖς, οὐδ' αὐτοί γε ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ ἱππέων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἵππος ἐπέ-
 49 λαξε. καὶ χρήσιμον μὲν ἐδόκει εἶναι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε τρέφειν οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει καλὸς κάγαθός κάμηλον ὥστ' ἐποχεῖσθαι, οὔτε μελετᾶν ὡς πολεμήσων ἀπὸ τούτων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπολαβοῦσαι πάλιν τὸ ἑαυτῶν σχῆμα ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις διάγουσι.

II.

Croesus, pursued by Cyrus to Sardis, surrenders on the capture of the city. Plundering by the Chaldeans having been checked, the Persian army encamps.

- 1 ΚΑΙ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι, ὥσπερ ἔδει, ἐκοιμήθησαν. Κροῖσος μέντοι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεων ἔφευγε σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι· τὰ δ' ἄλλα φύλα ὅποι ἐδύνατο προσωτάτω ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῆς ἐπ' οἶκον ὁδοῦ
 2 ἕκαστος ἀπεχώρει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεις ἦγε Κῦρος. ὥς δ' ἐγένετο πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Σάρδεσι, τὰς τε μηχανὰς ἀνίστη ὡς προσβαλὼν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ κλίμακας παρε-
 3 σκευάζετο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν, κατὰ τὰ ἀποτομώτατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι τοῦ Σαρδιανῶν ἐρύματος τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀναβιβάζει Χαλδαίους τε καὶ Πέρσας. ἡγήσατο δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, δοῦλος γεγενημένος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τινὸς φρουρῶν,

καὶ καταμεμαθηκὼς κατὰβασιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν
καὶ ἀνάβασιν τὴν αὐτήν. ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦτο 4
δῆλον, ὅτι εἶχετο τὰ ἄκρα, πάντες δὴ ἔφευγον οἱ
Λυδοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, ὅποι ἡδύνατο ἕκαστος τῆς
πόλεως. Κῦρος δὲ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσῆει εἰς τὴν
πόλιν, καὶ παρήγγειλεν, ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδένα
κινεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος, κατακλεισάμενος ἐν τοῖς 5
βασιλείοις, Κῦρον ἐβόα· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τοῦ μὲν
Κροίσου φύλακας κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαγαγὼν
πρὸς τὴν ἐχομένην ἄκραν, ὥς εἶδε τοὺς μὲν Πέρσας
φυλάσσοντας τὴν ἄκραν, ὥσπερ ἔδει, τὰ δὲ τῶν
Χαλδαίων ὄπλα ἔρημα, καταδεδραμήκεσαν γὰρ
ἄρπασόμενοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, εὐθὺς συνεκάλεσεν
αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι ἐκ
τοῦ στρατεύματος ὡς τάχιστα. Οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ἔφη, 6
ἀνασχοίμην πλεονεκτοῦντας ὁρῶν τοὺς ἀτακτοῦν-
τας. καὶ εὖ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι παρεσκευαζό-
μην ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμοὶ συστρατευομένους πᾶσι
Χαλδαίοις μακαριστοὺς ποιῆσαι· νῦν δ', ἔφη, μὴ
θαυμάζετε ἣν τις καὶ ἀπιούσιν ὑμῖν κρείττων ἐν-
τύχη. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἔδειςάν τε 7
καὶ ἰκέτενον παύσασθαι ὀργιζόμενον καὶ τὰ χρή-
ματα πάντα ἀποδώσειν ἔφασαν. ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι
οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δέοιτο. 'Ἄλλ' εἰ με, ἔφη, βούλεσθε
παύσασθαι ἀχθόμενον, ἀπόδοτε πάντα ὅσα ἐλά-
βετε τοῖς διαφυλάξασιν τὴν ἄκραν. ἣν γὰρ αἰσθων-
ται οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ὅτι πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ
εὐτακτοὶ γενόμενοι, πάντα μοι καλῶς ἔξει. οἱ μὲν 8
δὴ Χαλδαῖοι οὕτως ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ
Κῦρος· καὶ ἔλαβον οἱ πειθόμενοι πολλὰ καὶ παν-

τοια χρήματα. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος καταστρατοπεδεύσας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ὅπου ἐδόκει τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις παρήγγειλε καὶ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

Meeting of Cyrus and Croesus.

- 9 Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος, ἀγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Κροῖσον. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος ὡς εἶδε τὸν Κῦρον, Χαῖρε, ὦ δέσποτα, ἔφη· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ ἔχειν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δίδωσί σοι, καὶ ἐμοὶ προσαγο-
- 10 ρεύειν. Καὶ σύ γε, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπείπερ ἄνθρωποι γέ ἐσμεν ἀμφοτέροι. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἄρ' ἂν τι μοι ἐθελήσαις συμβουλευσαι; Καὶ βουλομένην γ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἀγαθὸν τί σοι εὔρεῖν·
- 11 τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι ἀγαθὸν κάμοι γενέσθαι. Ἄκουσον τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλὰ πεπονηκότας καὶ πολλὰ κεκινδυνευκότας καὶ νῦν νομίζοντας πόλιν ἔχειν τὴν πλουσιωτάτην ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μετὰ Βαβυλῶνα, ἀξιῶ ὠφεληθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας. γινώσκω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι εἰ μὴ τινα καρπὸν λήψονται τῶν πόνων, οὐ δυνήσομαι αὐτοὺς πολὺν χρόνον πειθομένους ἔχειν. διαρπάσαι μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐφείναι τὴν πόλιν οὐ βούλομαι· τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν νομίζω ἂν διαφθαρῆναι, ἐν τε τῇ ἀρπαγῇ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι οἱ πονηρότατοι
- 12 πλεονεκτήσκειαν ἂν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἔλεξεν, Ἄλλ' ἐμέ, ἔφη, ἕασον λέξαι πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐγὼ Λυδῶν ἐθέλω, ὅτι διαπέπραγμαι παρὰ σοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι ἀρπαγὴν, μηδὲ εἶσαι ἀφανισθῆναι παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ὑπεσχόμεν δέ σοι ἀντὶ τούτων, ἡ

μὴν παρ' ἐκόντων Λυδῶν ἔσεσθαι πᾶν ὃ τι καλὸν
 καγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν. ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα ἀκού- 13
 σωσιν, οἶδ' ὅτι ἤξει σοι πᾶν ὃ τι ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε
 καλὸν κτῆμα ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικί· καὶ ὁμοίως εἰς
 νέωτα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πάλιν σοι πλήρης ἡ πόλις
 ἔσται· ἦν δὲ διωρπάσης, καὶ αἱ τέχναι σοι, ἃς
 πηγὰς φασὶ τῶν καλῶν εἶναι, διεφθαρμέναι ἔσου-
 νται. ἐξέσται δέ σοι ἰδόντι τὰ ἐλθόντα ἔτι· καὶ 14
 περὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς βουλευσασθαι. πρῶτον δέ, ἔφη,
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς θησαυροὺς πέμπε, καὶ παραλαμ-
 βανέτωσαν οἱ σοὶ φύλακες παρὰ τῶν ἐμῶν φυλά-
 κων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἅπαντα οὕτω συνήνεσε ποιεῖν
 ὁ Κύρος ὥσπερ ἔλαξεν ὁ Κροῖσος. Τάδε δέ μοι 15
 πάντως, ἔφη, Κροῖσε, λέξον, πῶς σοι ἀποβέβηκε τὰ
 ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίου· σοὶ γὰρ δὴ λέγεται
 πάννυ γε τεθεραπεῦσθαι ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ σε πάντα
 ἐκείνῳ πειθόμενον πράττειν. Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ἔφη, 16
 ὦ Κύρε, οὕτως ἔχειν· νῦν δὲ πάντα τὰναντία εὐθύς
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς πράττων προσηνέχθην τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.
 Πῶς δέ; ἔφη ὁ Κύρος· διδάσκει· πάννυ γὰρ παρά-
 δοξα λέγεις. "Ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, ἀμελήσας 17
 ἐρωτᾶν τὸν θεὸν εἴ τι ἐδεόμην, ἀπειριώμην αὐτοῦ
 εἰ δύναίτο ἀληθεύειν. τοῦτο δέ, ἔφη, μὴ ὅτι θεός,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωποι καλοὶ καγαθοὶ ἐπειδὰν γινώσιν
 ἀπιστούμενοι οὐ φιλοῦσι τοὺς ἀπιστούντας. ἐπεὶ 18
 μέντοι ἔγνω καὶ μάλ' ἄτοπα ἐμοῦ ποιοῦντος καὶ
 πρόσω Δελφῶν ἀπέχοντος, οὕτω δὴ πέμπω περὶ
 παίδων. ὁ δέ μοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο· 19
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγὼ πολλὰ μὲν πέμπων ἀναθήματα χρυσᾶ,
 πολλὰ δ' ἀργυρᾶ, πάμπολλα δὲ θύων ἐξίλασάμην

ποτὲ αὐτόν, ὥς ἐδόκουν, τότε δὴ μοι ἀποκρίνεται ἐρωτῶντι τί ἂν μοι ποιήσαντι παῖδες γένοιτο· ὁ δὲ 20 εἶπεν ὅτι ἔσονται. καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐψεύσατο, γενόμενοι δὲ οὐδὲν ὤνησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κωφὸς ὦν διετέλει, ὁ δὲ ἄριστος γενόμενος ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ βίου ἀπώλετο. πιεζόμενος δὲ ταῖς περὶ τοὺς παῖδας συμφοραῖς πάλιν πέμπω καὶ ἐπερωτῶ τὸν θεὸν τί ἂν ποιῶν τὸν λοιπὸν βίον εὐδαιμονέστατα διατελέσαιμι· ὁ δὲ μοι ἀπεκρίνατο,

Σαυτὸν γιγνώσκων εὐδαίμων, Κροῖσε, περάσεις.

21 ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούσας τὴν μαντείαν ἤσθην· ἐνόμιζον γὰρ τὸ ῥᾶστόν μοι αὐτὸν προστάξαντα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν διδόναι. ἄλλους μὲν γὰρ γιγνώσκειν τοὺς μὲν οἶόν τ' εἶναι τοὺς δ' οὐ· ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὅστις ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ 22 ἐνόμιζον ἄνθρωπον εἰδέναι. καὶ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ χρόνον, ἕως μὲν εἶχον ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλουν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς θάνατον ταῖς τύχαις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνεπείσθην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς στρατεῦσθαι, εἰς πάντα κίνδυνον ἦλθον· ἐσώθην μέντοι οὐδὲν κακὸν λαβών. οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὐδὲ τάδε τὸν θεόν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔγνων ἑμαυτὸν μὴ ἱκανὸν ὑμῖν μάχεσθαι, ἀσφαλῶς σὺν τῷ θεῷ ἀπῆλθον καὶ αὐτὸς 23 καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοί. νῦν δ' αὖ πάλιν ὑπὸ τε πλούτου τοῦ παρόντος διαθρυπτόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δεομένων μου προστάτην γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δώρων ὧν ἐδίδουσάν μοι καὶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, οἳ με κολακεύοντες ἔλεγον ὥς, εἰ ἐγὼ ἐθέλοιμι ἄρχειν, πάντες ἂν ἐμοὶ πείθοιντο καὶ μέγιστος ἂν εἶην ἀνθρώπων· ὑπὸ τοιούτων δὲ λόγων ἀναφυσώμενος, ὥς εἶλοντό με πάντες οἱ κύκλοι βασιλεῖς προστάτην τοῦ πολέ-

μου, ὑπεδεξάμην τὴν στρατηγίαν, ὥς ἱκανὸς ὢν μέγιστος γενέσθαι· ἀγνοῶν ἄρα ἑμαυτόν, ὅτι σοι 24 ἀντιπολεμεῖν ἱκανὸς ὤμην εἶναι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ θεῶν γεγονότι, ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ βασιλέων πεφυκότι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦντι· τῶν δ' ἐμῶν προγόνων ἀκούω τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα ἅμα τε βασιλέα καὶ ἐλεύθερον γενέσθαι. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀγνοήσας, δικαίως, ἔφη, ἔχω τὴν δίκην. ἀλλὰ νῦν δὴ, 25 ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, γιγνώσκω μὲν ἑμαυτόν· σὺ δ', ἔφη, δοκεῖς ἔτι ἀληθεύσειν τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ὥς εὐδαίμων ἔσομαι γιγνώσκων ἑμαυτόν; σὲ δ' ἐρωτῶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἄριστ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖς εἰκάσαι τοῦτο ἐν τῷ παρόντι· καὶ γὰρ δύνασαι ποιῆσαι.

Croesus receives clement treatment from Cyrus.

Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Βουλὴν μοι δὸς περὶ τούτου, 26 ὦ Κροῖσε· ἐγὼ γάρ σου ἐννοῶν τὴν πρόσθεν εὐδαιμονίαν οἰκτεῖρω τέ σε καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ἤδη γυναικὰ τε ἔχειν ἣν εἶχες, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, ἀκούω γάρ σοι εἶναι καὶ τοὺς φίλους, καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας, καὶ τράπεζαν, σὺν οἷαπερ ἐζήτε· μάχας δέ σοι καὶ πολέμους ἀφαιρῶ. Μὰ Δία μηδὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ 27 Κροῖσος, σὺ ἐμοὶ ἔτι βουλεύου ἀποκρίνασθαι περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐδαιμονίας· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σοι λέγω, ἣν ταῦτά μοι ποιήσης ἂν σὺ λέγεις, ὅτι, ἣν ἄλλοι τε μακαριωτάτην ἐνόμιζον εἶναι βιοτὴν καὶ ἐγὼ συνεγίγνωσκον αὐτοῖς ταύτην καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχων διάξω. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Τίς δὴ ὁ ἔχων ταύτην τὴν μακα- 28 ρίαν βιοτὴν; Ἡ ἐμὴ γυνή, εἶπεν, ὦ Κῦρε· ἐκείνη γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν μαλακῶν καὶ εὐφρο-

συνῶν πασῶν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἴσον μετεῖχε· φροντῖδων δὲ ὅπως ταῦτα ἔσται καὶ πολέμου καὶ μάχης οὐ μετὴν αὐτῇ. οὕτω δὴ καὶ σὺ δοκεῖς ἐμὲ κατασκευάζειν ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ἦν ἐφίλουν μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα μοι δοκῶ χαριστήρια ὀφειλήσειν.
 29 ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασε μὲν τὴν εὐθυμίαν, ἦγε δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ὅποι καὶ αὐτὸς πορεύοιτο, εἴτ' ἄρα καὶ χρήσιμόν τι νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι εἴτε καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον οὕτως ἡγούμενος.

III.

Disposal of the Lydian treasure.

1 ΚΑΙ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δ' ὕστεραιά καλέσας ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔταξε τοὺς θησαυροὺς παραλαμβάνειν, τοὺς δ' ἐκέλευσεν ὅποσα παραδοίῃ Κροῖσος χρήματα, πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξελεῖν ὅποι' ἂν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγῶνται, ἔπειτα τὰλλα χρήματα παραδεχομένους ἐν ζυγαστροῖς στήσαντας ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν ἐπισκευάσαι καὶ διαλαχόντας τὰς ἀμάξας κομίζειν ὅποιπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ πορεύωνται, ἵνα ὅπη καιρὸς εἴη διαλαμβάνοιεν
 2 ἕκαστοι τὰ ἄξια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν.

Funeral honours to Abradatas. Suicide of Pantheia.

Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος καλέσας τινὰς τῶν παρόντων ὑπηρετῶν, Εἵπατέ μοι, ἔφη, ἐόρακέ τις ὑμῶν Ἀβραδάταν; θαυμάζω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι πρόσθεν

θαμίζων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς νῦν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται. τῶν οὖν 3
 ὑπηρετῶν τις ἀπεκρίνατο, "Ὅτι, ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ ζῇ·
 ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανεν ἐμβαλὼν τὸ ἄρμα εἰς
 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πλὴν τῶν ἐταίρων
 αὐτοῦ ἐξέκλιναν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ στίφος εἶδον
 τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. καὶ νῦν γε, ἔφη, λέγεται αὐτοῦ 4
 ἡ γυνὴ ἀνελομένη τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ἐνθεμένη εἰς τὴν
 ἀρμάμαξαν, ἐν ᾗπερ αὐτὴ ὥχευτο, προσκεκομικέναι
 αὐτὸν ἐνθάδε ποὶ πρὸς τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν. καὶ 5
 τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ
 ὀρύττειν φασὶν ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς θήκην τῷ τελευτή-
 σαντι· τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα λέγουσιν ὥς κάθηται χαμαί,
 κεκοσμηκυῖα οἷς εἶχε τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν κεφαλὴν
 αὐτοῦ ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ 6
 Κύρος ἐπαίσατο ἄρα τὸν μηρόν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναπη-
 δῆσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, λαβὼν χιλίους ἵππείας,
 ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος. Γαδάταν δὲ καὶ Γωβρύαν 7
 ἐκέλευσεν ὃ τι δύναιντο λαβόντας καλὸν κόσμημα
 ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τετελευτηκότι μεταδιώκειν·
 καὶ ὅστις εἶχε τὰς ἐπομένας ἀγέλας, καὶ βοῦς καὶ
 ἵππους εἶπε τούτῳ καὶ ἅμα πρόβατα πολλὰ
 ἐλαύνειν ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸν πυνθάνηται ὄντα, ὥς ἐπισφα-
 γεῖν τῷ Ἀβραδάτα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδε τὴν γυναῖκα χαμαὶ καθημένην καὶ 8
 τὸν νεκρὸν κείμενον, ἰδάκρυσέ τε ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει, καὶ
 εἶπε, Φεῦ, ὦ ἀγαθὴ καὶ πιστὴ ψυχὴ, οἴχῃ δὴ
 ὑπολιπὼν ἡμᾶς; καὶ ἅμα ἐδεξιόυτο αὐτόν· καὶ ἡ
 χεὶρ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐπηκολούθησεν· ἀπεκέκοπτο γὰρ
 κοπίδι ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν πολὺ ἔτι 9
 μᾶλλον ἤλγησε· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀνωδύρατο, καὶ

- δεξαμένη τὴν χεῖρα παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου ἐφίλησέ τε
 10 καὶ πάλιν ὡς οἶόν τ' ἦν προσήρμοσε, καὶ εἶπε.
 Καὶ τὰλλα τοί, ὦ Κῦρε, οὕτως ἔχει· ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ
 σε ὀρᾶν; καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, οἶδ' ὅτι δι' ἐμὲ οὐχ
 ἡκιστα ἔπαθεν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ διὰ σέ, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐδὲν
 ἦττον. ἐγὼ τε γὰρ ἡ μῶρα πολλὰ διεκελευόμην
 αὐτῷ οὕτω ποιεῖν ὅπως σοι φίλος ἄξιος λόγου
 φανείη· αὐτός τε οἶδ' ὅτι οὗτος οὐ τοῦτο ἐνενοεί ὃ τι
 πείσοιτο, ἀλλὰ τί ἂν σοι ποιήσας χαρίσαιοτο. καὶ
 γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμέμπτως τετελεύτηκεν,
 11 ἐγὼ δ' ἡ παρακελευομένη ζῶσα παρακάθημαι. καὶ
 ὁ Κῦρος χρόνον μὲν τινα σιωπῇ κατεδάκρυσεν,
 ἔπειτα δὲ ἐφθέγγετο· Ἄλλ' οὗτος μὲν δὴ, ὦ γύναι,
 ἔχει τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος· νικῶν γὰρ τετελεύτηκε·
 σὺ δὲ λαβοῦσα τοῖσδε ἐπικόσμει αὐτὸν τοῖς παρ'
 ἐμοῦ· παρὴν δὲ ὁ Γωβρύας καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας πολὺν
 καὶ καλὸν κόσμον φέροντες· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἴσθι
 ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἄτιμος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μνήμα
 πολλοὶ χάσουσιν ἀξίως ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπισφαγήσεται
 12 αὐτῷ ὅσα εἰκὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ σὺ δέ, ἔφη,
 οὐκ ἔρημος ἔσῃ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σε καὶ σωφροσύνης ἕνεκα
 καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ τὰλλα τιμήσω, καὶ συστήσω
 ὅστις ἀποκομιεῖ σε ὅποι ἂν αὐτὴ ἐθέλῃς· μόνον,
 ἔφη, δήλωσον, πρὸς ὄντινα χρήξεις κομισθῆναι.
 13 καὶ ἡ Πάνθεια εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ θάρρει, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε·
 οὐ μὴ σε κρύψω πρὸς ὄντινα βούλομαι ἀφι-
 κέσθαι.
 14 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπήει, κατοικτεῖρων τὴν
 τε γυναῖκα, οἷου ἀνδρὸς στεροῖτο, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα,
 οἷαν γυναῖκα καταλιπὼν οὐκέτ' ὄψοιτο. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ

τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστήναι· ἔως ἂν, ἔφη, τόνδε ἐγὼ οὐδύρωμαι, ὡς βούλομαι· τῇ δὲ τροφῇ εἶπε παραμένειν, καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτῇ, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνῃ, περικαλύψαι αὐτήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ. ἡ δὲ τροφὸς πολλὰ ἱκετεύουσα μὴ ποιεῖν τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἦνυτε καὶ χαλεπαίνουσαν ἑώρα, ἐκάθητο κλάουσα. ἡ δὲ ἀκινάκην πάλαι παρεσκευασμένη σφάττει ἑαυτήν, καὶ ἐπιθεῖσα ἐπὶ τὰ στέρνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς κεφαλὴν ἀπέθνησκεν. ἡ δὲ τροφὸς ἀνωλοφύρατό τε καὶ περιεκάλυπτεν ἄμφω ὥσπερ ἡ Πάνθεια ἐπέστειλεν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὡς ἦσθετο 15 τὸ ἔργον τῆς γυναικὸς, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἵεται, εἴ τι δύναιτο βοηθῆσαι. οἱ δὲ εὐνούχοι ἰδόντες τὸ γεγενημένον τρεῖς ὄντες σπασάμενοι κἀκεῖνοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἀποσφάττονται οὐπὲρ ἔταξεν αὐτοὺς ἑστήκότες. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὡς ἐπλησίασε τῷ πάθει ἀγασθεὶς 16 τε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ κατολοφυράμενος ἀπῆει· καὶ τούτων μὲν ἡ εἰκὸς ἐπεμελήθη ὡς τύχοιεν πάντων τῶν καλῶν, καὶ τὸ μῆμα ὑπερμέγεθες ἐχώσθη, ὥς φασιν.

IV.

Adusius, as Cyrus' representative, settles disturbances among the Carians.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου στασιάζοντες οἱ Κᾶρες καὶ πολέ- 1 μούντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἅτε τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἔχοντες ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις, ἑκάτεροι ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν Κύρον. ὁ δὲ Κύρος αὐτοὺς μὲν μένων ἐν Σάρδεσι μηχανὰς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ κριούς, ὡς τῶν μὴ πειθομένων ἐρείψων

τὰ τείχη, Ἀδούσιον δὲ ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν καὶ τᾶλλα οὐκ
 ἄφρονα οὐδ' ἀπόλεμον, καὶ πάνυ δὴ εὐχαριν, πέμ-
 πει ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν, στράτευμα δούς· καὶ Κιλικες
 δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι πάνυ προθύμως αὐτῷ συνεστράτευ-
 2 σαν. ὦν ἕνεκα οὐδ' ἔπεμψε πώποτε Πέρσῃν σα-
 τράπην οὔτε Κιλικῶν οὔτε Κυπρίων, ἀλλ' ἤρκουν
 αὐτῷ αἱ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι βασιλεύοντες· δασμὸν μέν-
 τοι ἐλάμβανε καὶ στρατιᾶς ὅποτε δεόιτο ἐπήγ-
 γελλεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Ἀδούσιος ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα
 ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν ἦλθε, καὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν
 Καρῶν παρήσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτοιμοι ὄντες δέχεσθαι
 3 εἰς τὰ τείχη ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ἀντιστασιαζόντων. ὁ
 δὲ Ἀδούσιος πρὸς ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα ἐποίει· δικαι-
 ὅτερά τε ἔφη λέγειν τούτους, ὅποτέροις διαλέγοιτο,
 λαθεῖν τε ἔφη δεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους φίλους σφᾶς
 γενομένους, ὥς δὴ οὕτως ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπιπεσὼν
 ἀπαρασκεύοις τοῖς ἐναντίοις. πιστὰ δ' ἡξίου
 γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Κᾶρας ὁμόσαι ἀδόλως τε
 δέξασθαι εἰς τὰ τείχη σφᾶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῷ
 Κύρου καὶ Περσῶν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁμόσαι θέλειν ἀδόλως
 ἵεναι εἰς τὰ τείχη, καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων.
 4 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ἀμφοτέροις λάθρα ἑκατέρων
 νύκτα συνέθετο τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ εἰσήλατο
 εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ παρέλαβε τὰ ἐρύματα ἀμφοτέρων.
 ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθεζόμενος εἰς τὸ μέσον σὺν τῇ
 στρατιᾷ, ἐκάλεσεν ἑκατέρων τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. οἱ
 δὲ ἰδόντες ἀλλήλους ἠχθέσθησαν, νομίζοντες ἐξη-
 5 πατῆσθαι ἀμφότεροι. ὁ μέντοι Ἀδούσιος ἔλεξε
 τοιάδε· Ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὥμοσα ἀδόλως εἰσιέναι
 εἰς τὰ τείχη, καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων. εἰ μὲν

οὖν ἀπολωὼ ὅποτέρους ὑμῶν, νομίζω ἐπὶ κακῷ εἰσε-
ληλυθέναι Καρῶν· ἦν δὲ εἰρήνην ὑμῖν ποιήσω καὶ
ἀσφάλειαν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμφοτέροις τὴν γῆν, νομίζω
ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ παρῆναι. νῦν δὲ χρὴ ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς
ἡμέρας ἐπιμύγνυσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις φιλικῶς, ἐργά-
ζεσθαι τε τὴν γῆν ἀδιδῶς, διδόναι τε τέκνα καὶ λαμ-
βάνειν παρ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ἀδικεῖν
τις ἐπιχειρῇ, τούτοις Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡμεῖς πολέμιοι
ἐσόμεθα. ἐκ τούτου πύλαι μὲν ἀνεφγμέναι ἦσαν ὁ
τῶν τειχῶν, μεστὰι δὲ αἱ ὁδοὶ πορευομένων παρ'
ἀλλήλους, μιστοὶ δὲ οἱ χώροι ἐργαζομένων· ἑορτὰς
δὲ κοινῇ ἡγον, εἰρήνης δὲ καὶ εὐφροσύνης πάντα
πλάα ἦν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκον οἱ παρὰ Κύρου, ἔρω-
τῶντες, εἴ τι στρατιᾷ προσδέοιτο ἢ μηχανημάτων·
ὁ δὲ Ἀδούσιος ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἐξείη
ἀλλαχόσε χρῆσθαι στρατιᾷ· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων
ἀπήγε τὸ στράτευμα, φρουροὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις
καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ Κᾶρες ἰκέτευον μένειν αὐτόν·
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελε, προσέπεμψαν πρὸς Κῦρον δεό-
μενοι πέμψαι Ἀδούσιον σφίσι σατράπην.

Reduction of Lesser Phrygia by Hystaspas.

Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεστάλκει Ὑστάσπαν ὁ
στράτευμα ἄγοντα ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν περὶ Ἑλλή-
σποντον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκειν ὁ Ἀδούσιος, μετᾴγειν αὐτόν
ἐκέλευσεν ἥπερ ὁ Ὑστάσπας προέφετο, ὅπως μάλ-
λον πείθοιντο τῷ Ὑστάσπα, ἀκούσαντες ἄλλο
στράτευμα προσιόν. οἳ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ ὁ
θαλάττῃ οἰκοῦντες, πολλὰ δόντες δῶρα, διεπράξαντο
ὥστε εἰς μὲν τὰ τείχη βαρβάρους μὴ δέχεσθαι,

- δασμὸν δὲ ἀποφέρειν καὶ στρατεύειν ὅποι Κῦρος
 10 ἐπαγγέλλοι. ὁ δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν βασιλεὺς παρε-
 σκευάζετο μὲν ὡς καθέξων τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καὶ οὐ πεισό-
 μενος, καὶ παρήγγειλεν οὕτως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίσταντο
 αὐτοῦ οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ ἔρημος ἐγένετο, τελευτῶν εἰς
 χεῖρας ἦλθεν Ἑστιάσπῃ ἐπὶ τῇ Κύρου δίκη. καὶ ὁ
 Ἑστιάσπας καταλιπὼν ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις ἰσχυρὰς
 Περσῶν φρουρὰς ἀπήει, ἄγων σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
 11 Φρυγῶν πολλοὺς ἵππεας καὶ πελταστάς. ὁ δὲ
 Κῦρος ἐπέστελλεν Ἀδουσίῳ συμμίζαντα πρὸς Ἑσ-
 τιάσπαν τοὺς μὲν ἐλόμενους Φρυγῶν τὰ σφέτερα
 σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἄγειν, τοὺς δ' ἐπιθυμήσαντας πολε-
 μεῖν τούτων ἀφελομένους τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
 σφενδόνας ἔχοντας πάντας κελεύειν ἐπесθαι.

Advance of Cyrus upon Babylon. Reduction of Greater
 Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Arabia.

- 12 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. Κῦρος δὲ ὥρματο
 ἐκ Σάρδεων, φρουρὰν μὲν πεξὴν καταλιπὼν πολλὴν
 ἐν Σάρδεσι, Κροῖσον δὲ ἔχων, ἄγων δὲ πολλὰς ἀμά-
 ξας πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων. ἦκε δὲ καὶ
 ὁ Κροῖσος γεγραμμένα ἔχων ἀκριβῶς ὅσα ἐν ἐκάστη
 ἦν τῇ ἀμάξῃ· καὶ διδούς τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ γράμματα
 εἶπε, Ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἔχων, ὦ Κῦρε, εἴσῃ τόν τέ σοι
 13 ὀρθῶς ἀποδιδόντα ἃ ἄγει καὶ τὸν μῆ. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος
 ἔλεξεν, Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καλῶς ἐποίεις, ὦ Κροῖσε,
 προνοῶν· ἔμοιγε μέντοι ἄξουσιν τὰ χρήματα οἵπερ
 καὶ ἔχειν αὐτὰ ἄξιοί εἰσιν· ὥστε ἦν τι καὶ κλέ-
 ψωσι, τῶν ἑαυτῶν κλέψονται. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα
 λέγων ἔδωκε τὰ γράμματα τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρ-

χουσιν, ὅπως εἶδειεν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων οἷ τε σῶα αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόειν οἷ τε μή. ἦγε δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οὓς μὲν 14 ἑώρα καλλωπιζομένους καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ἄρμασι καὶ πάντα πειρωμένους ποιεῖν ὃ τι ᾔδοντο αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι, τούτους μὲν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις· οὓς δὲ ἑώρα ἀχαρίτως ἐπομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἵππους αὐτῶν παρέδωκε Πέρσαις τοῖς πρώτοις συστρατευομένοις, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα κατέκαυσε· σφενδόνας δὲ καὶ τούτους ἠνάγκασεν ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαι. καὶ πάντας δὲ 15 τοὺς ἀόπλους τῶν ὑποχειρίων γενομένων σφενδονᾶν ἠνάγκασε μελετᾶν, νομίζων τοῦτο τὸ ὅπλον δουλικώτατον εἶναι· σὺν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει μάλα ἔστιν ἔνθα ἰσχυρῶς ὠφελοῦσι σφενδονῆται παρόντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ καθ' αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες σφενδονῆται μείνειαν πάνυ ὀλίγους ὁμόσε ἰόντας σὺν ὅπλοις ἀγχεμίχοις.

Προῖὼν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος κατεστρέψατο 16 μὲν Φρύγας τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Φρυγίᾳ, κατεστρέψατο δὲ Καππαδόκας, ὑποχειρίους δ' ἐποίησατο Ἀραβίους. ἐξέπλησε δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων Περσῶν μὲν ἵππας οὐ μείον τετρακισμυρίους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συμμάχοις διέδωκε· καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφίκετο παμπόλλους μὲν ἵππας ἔχων, παμπόλλους δὲ τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, σφενδοιήτας δὲ ἀναριθμήτους.

V.

Cyrus makes a reconnaissance of Babylon.

- 1 ΕΠΕΙ δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἦν ὁ Κῦρος, περιέστησε
 μὲν πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἔπειτα
 αὐτὸς περιήλαυνε τὴν πόλιν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις τε καὶ
 2 ἐπικαιρίοις τῶν συμμάχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεθεάσατο
 τὰ τεῖχη, ἀπάγειν παρεσκευάσατο τὴν στρατιὰν
 ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως· ἐξελθὼν δέ τις αὐτόμολος εἶπεν,
 ὅτι ἐπιτίθесθαι μέλλοιεν αὐτῷ, ὁπότε ἀπάγοι τὸ
 στράτευμα· καταθεωμένοις γάρ, ἔφη, αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ
 τοῦ τείχους ἀσθενὴς ἐδόκει εἶναι ἢ φάλαγξ. καὶ
 οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἦν οὕτως ἔχειν· περὶ γὰρ πολὺ
 τεῖχος κυκλουμένοις ἀνάγκη ἦν ἐπ' ὀλίγων τὸ βάθος
 3 γενέσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα. ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Κῦρος
 ταῦτα, στὰς κατὰ μέσον τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς σὺν
 τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν παρήγγειλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἐκατέ-
 ρωθεν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀναπτύσσοντας τὴν φάλαγγα
 ἀπιέναι παρὰ τὸ ἐστηκὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἕως
 γένοιτο ἐκατέρωθεν τὸ ἄκρον κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ
 4 τὸ μέσον. οὕτως οὖν ποιούντων, οἳ τε μένοντες
 εὐθὺς θαρραλεώτεροι ἐγίγνοντο, ἐπὶ διπλασίῳ τὸ
 βάθος γιγνόμενοι, οἳ τ' ἀπιόντες ὡσαύτως θαρραλεώ-
 τεροι· εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ μένοντες ἀντ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς
 πολεμίους ἐγίγνοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκατέρω-
 θεν συνῆψαν τὰ ἄκρα, ἔστησαν ἰσχυρότεροι γεγε-
 νημέιοι, οἳ τε ἀπεληλυθότες διὰ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν,
 οἳ τ' ἔμπροσθεν διὰ τοὺς ὀπισθεν προσγεγενημέ-
 5 νους. ἀναπτυχθείσης δ' οὕτω τῆς φάλαγγος, ἀνάγ-

κη τοὺς πρῶτους ἀρίστους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοὺς κακίστους τετάχθαι· ἡ δ' οὕτως ἔχουσα τάξις καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι ἐδόκει εὖ παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ φεύγειν. καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ γυμνῆτες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων αἰεὶ ἐγγύτερον ἐγγίνοντο τοῦ ἀρχοντος τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἡ φάλαγξ βραχυτέρα ἐγγίνετο ἀναδιπλουμένη. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω συνεσπειράθησαν, ἀπῆσαν, ἕως μὲν ἐξικνεῖτο τὰ βέλη ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ πόδα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, στράφεντες καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγα βήματα προϊόντες μετεβάλλοντο ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ ἴσταντο πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος βλέποντες· ὅσῳ δὲ προσωτέρῳ ἐγγίνοντο, τόσῳ δὲ μανότερον μετεβάλλοντο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐδόκουν εἶναι, συνείρον ἀπιόντες, ἔσπε ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐγένοντο.

Council of Cyrus and his officers. Babylon surrounded by a trench.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ γ' Κῦρος τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους, καὶ ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, τεθεάμεθα μὲν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως μὲν ἄν τις τείχη οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ὑψηλὰ προσμαχόμενος ἔλοι οὐκ ἐνορᾶν μοι δοκῶ· ὅσῳ δὲ πλέονες ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσὶν, ἐπείπερ οὐ μάχονται ἐξιόντες, τοσούτῳ ἂν θᾶπτον λιμῷ αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι ἀλῶναι. εἰ μὴ τιν' οὖν ἄλλον τρόπον ἔχετε λέγειν, τούτῳ πολιορκητέους φημὶ εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπεν, Ὁ δὲ ποταμός, ἔφη, οὗτος οὐ 8 διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ πλάτος ἔχων πλείον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, καὶ βάθος

- γ' ὥς οὐδ' ἂν δύο ἄνδρες ὁ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἑστη-
 κὼς τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχοιεν· ὥστε τῷ ποταμῷ ἔτι
 9 ἰσχυροτέρα ἐστὶν ἢ πόλις ἢ τοῖς τείχεσι. καὶ ὁ
 Κῦρος, Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Χρυσάντα, ἐώμεν, ὅσα
 κρείττω ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως· διαμετρησα-
 μένους δὲ χρή ὥς τάχιστα τὸ μέρος ἐκάστους ἡμῶν
 ὀρύττειν τάφρον ὥς πλατυτάτην καὶ βαθυτάτην,
 10 ὅπως ὅτι ἐλαχίστων ἡμῖν τῶν φυλάκων δέη. οὕτω
 δὴ κύκλῳ διαμετρήσας περὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπολιπὼν
 ὅσον τύρσεσι μεγάλαις ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὥρυττεν
 ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ τείχους τάφρον ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ
 11 τὴν γῆν ἀνέβαλλον πρὸς ἑαυτούς. καὶ πρῶτον
 μὲν πύργους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ὠκοδόμει, φοῖνιξι θε-
 μελιώσας οὐ μείον ἢ πλεθριαίοις· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ
 μείζονες ἢ τοσοῦτοι τὸ μῆκος πεφυκότες· καὶ γὰρ
 δὴ πιεζόμενοι οἱ φοίνικες ὑπὸ βάρους ἄνω κυρτοῦν-
 12 ται, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄνοι οἱ κανθήλιοι· τούτους δ' ὑπε-
 τίθει τούτου ἕνεκα ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἐοῖκοι πολι-
 ορκήσειν παρασκευαζομένῳ, ὥς εἰ καὶ διαφύγοι
 ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν τάφρον, μὴ ἀνέλοι τοὺς πύργους.
 ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς πύργους ἐπὶ τῆς
 ἀμβολάδος γῆς, ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστα φυλακτήρια εἴη.
 13 οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν· οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ τείχει κατεγέ-
 λων τῆς πολιορκίας, ὥς ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πλέον
 εἵκοσιν ἑτῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος τὸ
 στράτευμα κατένειμε δώδεκα μέρη, ὥς μῆνα τοῦ
 14 ἐνιαυτοῦ ἕκαστον τὸ μέρος φυλάξον. οἱ δ' αὖ
 Βαβυλώνιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον
 κατεγέλων, ἐννοοῦμενοι, εἰ σφᾶς Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ
 καὶ Ἀράβιοι καὶ Καππαδόκαι φυλάξοιεν, οὓς

σφίσιον ἐνόμιζον πάντας εὐμενεστέρους εἶναι ἢ Πέρσαις.

Cyrus takes advantage of a Babylonian night-feast to draw off the water of the Euphrates and open a way along the river-bed into the city.

Καὶ αἱ μὲν τάφροι ἤδη ὀρωρυγμέναι ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ἐπεὶ ἑορτὴν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἤκουσεν 15 εἶναι, ἐν ᾗ πάντες Βαβυλώνιοι ὅλην τὴν νύκτα πίνουσι καὶ κωμάζουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα συνεσκότασε, λαβὼν πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀνεστομωσε τὰς τάφρους πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο 16 ἐγένετο, τὸ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὰς τάφρους ἐχώρει ἐν τῇ νυκτί· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁδὸς πορεύσιμος ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. ὥς δὲ τὸ τοῦ 17 ποταμοῦ οὕτως ἐπορσύνετο, παρηγγύησεν ὁ Κῦρος Πέρσαις χιλιάρχους καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων εἰς δύο ἄγοντας τὴν χιλιοστὴν παρῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους συμμάχους κατ' οὐρανὸν τούτων ἔπρεσθαι ἥπερ πρόσθεν τεταγμένους. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρήσαν· ὁ 18 δὲ καταβιβάσας εἰς τὸ ξηρὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι εἰ πορεύσιμον εἴη τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλαν ὅτι πορεύσιμον εἴη, ἐνταῦθα 19 δὴ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

Speech of Cyrus to his officers before the attack.

Ἄνδρες, ἔφη, φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς ἡμῖν παρακε- 20

χώρηκε τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁδοῦ· ἡμεῖς δὲ θαρροῦν-
 τες εἰσίσωμεν, μηδὲν φοβούμενοι εἶσω, ἐννοούμενοι
 ὅτι οὗτοι ἐφ' οὓς νῦν πορευσόμεθα ἐκείνοί εἰσιν οὓς
 ἡμεῖς καὶ συμμάχους πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντας καὶ
 ἐγρηγορότας ἅπαντας καὶ νήφοντας καὶ ἐξωπλισμέ-
 21 νους καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐνικῶμεν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 ἴμεν ἐν ᾧ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν καθεύδουσι, πολλοὶ δ'
 αὐτῶν μεθύουσι, πάντες δ' ἀσύντακτοί εἰσιν· ὅταν
 δὲ καὶ αἰσθωνται ἡμᾶς ἐνδον ὄντας, πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον
 22 ἢ νῦν ἀχρεῖοι ἔσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπληχθαι. εἰ δέ
 τις τοῦτο ἐννοεῖται, ὃ δὴ λέγεται φοβερόν εἶναι τοῖς
 εἰς πόλιν εἰσιούσι, μὴ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη ἀναβάντες βάλω-
 σιν ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν, τοῦτο μάλιστα θαρρεῖτε· ἦν γὰρ
 ἀναβῶσί τινες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχομεν σύμμαχον θεὸν
 Ἡφαιστον. εὐφλεκτα δὲ τὰ πρόθυρα αὐτῶν, φοῖνικος
 μὲν αἱ θύραι πεποιημέναι, ἀσφάλτῃ δὲ ὑπεκκαύματι
 23 κεχριμέναι. ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ πολλὴν μὲν δᾶδα ἔχομεν, ἢ
 ταχὺ πολὺ πῦρ τέξεται, πολλὴν δὲ πίτταν καὶ στυπ-
 πείον, ἃ ταχὺ παρακαλεῖ πολλὴν φλόγα· ὥστε ἀνάγ-
 κην εἶναι ἢ φεύγειν ταχὺ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἢ
 24 ταχὺ κατακαεῖσθαι. ἀλλ' ἄγετε, λαμβάνετε τὰ
 ὄπλα· ἡγήσομαι δὲ ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. ὑμεῖς δ',
 ἔφη, ὦ Γαδάτα καὶ Γωβρύα, δείκνυτε τὰς ὁδοὺς·
 ἴστε γάρ· ὅταν δ' ἐντὸς γενώμεθα, τὴν ταχίστην
 25 ἄγετε ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφασαν οἱ ἀμφὶ
 τὸν Γωβρύαν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαυμαστόν εἰ καὶ ἄκ-
 λειστοὶ αἱ πύλαι αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου εἴεν· ὥς ἐν κώμφῳ
 δοκεῖ γὰρ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα εἶναι τῇδε τῇ νυκτί.
 φυλακῇ μέντοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐντευξόμεθα· ἔστι
 γὰρ ἀεὶ τεταγμένα. Οὐκ ἂν μέλλειν δεοί, ἔφη ὁ

Κῦρος, ἀλλ' ἵεναι, ἵνα ἀπαρασκεύους ὡς μάλιστα λάβωμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Capture of Babylon.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐρρήθη, ἐπορεύοντο· τῶν δὲ 25 ἀπαντώντων οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον παιόμενοι, οἱ δ' ἔφειγον πάλιν ὀπίσω, οἱ δ' ἐβόων. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν συνεβόων αὐτοῖς, ὡς κωμασταὶ ὄντες καὶ αὐτοί· καὶ ἰόντες ἢ ἐδύναντο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγένοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Γωβρύᾳ 27 καὶ Γαδάτᾳ τεταγμένοι κεκλεισμένας εὐρίσκουσι τὰς πύλας τοῦ βασιλείου· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς φύλακας ταχθέντες ἐπείσπιπτουσιν αὐτοῖς πίνουσι πρὸς φῶς πολὺ, καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς πολεμίους ἐχρῶντο. ὡς δὲ κραυγὴ καὶ κτύπος ἐγένετο, αἰσθόμενοι οἱ 28 ἔνδον τοῦ θορύβου, κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐκθέουσί τινες ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Γαδάταν ὡς εἶδον 29 τὰς πύλας χαλώσας, εἰσπίπτουσι, καὶ τοῖς πάλιν φεύγουσιν εἰς ὧς ἐφεπόμενοι καὶ παίοντες ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ ἤδη ἐστηκότα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσπασμένον ὃν εἶχεν ἀκινάκην εὐρίσκουσι. καὶ 30 τοῦτον μὲν οἱ σὺν Γαδάτᾳ καὶ Γωβρύᾳ πολλοὶ ἐχειροῦντο· καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπέθνησκον, ὁ μὲν προβαλόμενός τι, ὁ δὲ φεύγων, ὁ δέ γε καὶ ἀμυνόμενος ὅτῳ ἐδύνατο. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος διέπεμπε τὰς τῶν 31 ἵππῶν τάξεις κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς· καὶ προεῖπεν οὓς μὲν ἔξω λαμβάνοιεν κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις κηρύττειν τοὺς Συριστὶ ἐπισταμένους ἔνδον μένειν· εἰ δέ τις ἔξω ληφθείη, ὅτι θανατώσοιτο.

32 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν. Γαδάτας δὲ καὶ Γωβρύας ἦκον· καὶ θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτον προσεκύνουν, ὅτι τετιμωρημένοι ἦσαν τὸν ἀνόσιον βασιλέα, ἔπειτα δὲ Κύρου κατεφίλουν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, πολλὰ δακρύοντες ἅμα χαρᾷ καὶ εὐφραινόμενοι.

Disarmament of the Babylonians: re-settlement of the city.

33 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἦσθοντο οἱ τὰς ἄκρας ἔχοντες ἐαλωκυῖάν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τεθνηκότα, παραδιδόασιν καὶ τὰς ἄκρας.
 34 ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὰς μὲν ἄκρας εὐθὺς παρελάμβανε, καὶ φρουράρχους τε καὶ φρουροὺς εἰς ταύτας ἀνέπεμπε· τοὺς δὲ τεθνηκότας θάπτειν ἐφῆκε τοῖς προσήκουσι· τοὺς δὲ κήρυκας κηρύττειν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφέρειν πάντας τὰ ὅπλα Βαβυλωνίους· ὅπου δὲ ληφθεῖεν ὅπλα ἐν οἰκίᾳ, προηγόρευεν, ὥς πάντες οἱ ἔνδον ἀποθανοῖντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέφερον, ὁ δὲ Κύρος ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὰς ἄκρας κατέθετο, ὥς εἴη ἔτοιμα,
 35 εἰ τί ποτε δέοι χρῆσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς μάγους καλέσας, ὥς δοριαλώτου τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἀκροθίνια τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τεμένη ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελεῖν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ οἰκίας διεδίδου καὶ ἀρχεῖα τούτοις οὔσπερ κοινωνοὺς ἐνόμιζε τῶν καταπεπραγμένων· καὶ οὕτω διένειμεν, ὥσπερ ἐδέδοκτο, τὰ κράτιστα τοῖς ἀρίστοις. εἰ δέ τις οἶοιτο
 36 μείον ἔχειν, διδάσκειν προσιόντας ἐκέλευε. προεῖπε δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς δασμοὺς ἀποφέρειν καὶ θεραπεύειν τούτους οἷς ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἐδόθησαν· Πέρσας δὲ τοὺς κοινωνοὺς

καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὅσοι μένειν ἡροῦντο παρ' αὐτῷ
ὥς δεσπότας ὧν ἔλαβον προηγόρευε διαλέγεσθαι.

Gradual establishment of his personal sovereignty by
Cyrus: experiment of public audience on two con-
secutive days.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ Κῦρος ἤδη κατα- 37
σκευάσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὥς βασιλεῖ ἡγεῖτο πρέπειν,
ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο σὺν τῇ τῶν φίλων γνώμῃ ποιῆ-
σαι, ὥς ὅτι ἡκιστα ἂν ἐπιφθόνως σπάνιός τε καὶ
σεμνὸς φανεῖη. ὧδε οὖν ἐμηχανᾶτο τοῦτο. ἅμα τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ στὰς ὅπου ἐδόκει ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι προσεδέ-
χετο τὸν βουλόμενον λέγειν τι καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος
ἀπέπεμπεν. οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι ὥς ἔγνωσαν ὅτι προσ- 38
δέχοιτο, ἤκον ἀμήχανοι τὸ πλήθος· καὶ ὠθουμένων
περὶ τοῦ προσελθεῖν μηχανή τε πολλή καὶ μάχη
ἦν. οἱ δὲ ὑπερήται ὥς ἐδύναντο διακρίναντες προ- 39
σέσαν. ὁπότε δὲ τις καὶ τῶν φίλων διωσά-
μενος τὸν ὄχλον προφανείῃ, προτείνων ὁ Κῦρος
τὴν χεῖρα προσήγετο αὐτοῦς καὶ οὕτως ἔλεγε·
Περιμένετε, ἕως τὸν ὄχλον διωσόμεθα· ἔπειτα δὲ
καθ' ἡσυχίαν συγγενησόμεθα. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι
περιέμενον, ὁ δ' ὄχλος πλείων καὶ πλείων ἐπέρρει,
ὥστ' ἔφθασεν ἐσπέρα γενομένη πρὶν τοῖς φίλοις
αὐτὸν σχολάσαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι. οὕτω δὲ ὁ Κῦρος 40
λέγει, Ἄρα, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν μὲν καιρὸς διαλυθῆναι;
αὔριον δὲ πρῶτ' ἔλθετε· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βούλομαι ὑμῖν
τι διαλεχθῆναι. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ φίλοι ἄσμενοι
ᾤχοντο ἀποθέοντες, δίκην δεδοκότες ὑπὸ πάντων
τῶν ἀναγκαίων· καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

On the second day, Cyrus states the difficulty of public audiences, and asks for advice.

- 41 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ μὲν Κῦρος παρήν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ
χωρίον· ἀνθρώπων δὲ πολὺ πλεῖον πλῆθος περιει-
στήκει βουλομένων προσιέναι, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον
ἢ οἱ φίλοι παρήσαν. ὁ οὖν Κῦρος περιστησάμενος
τῶν ξυστοφόρων Περσῶν κύκλον μέγαν εἶπε μηδένα
παριέναι ἢ τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ ἄρχοντας τῶν
42 Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλ-
θον οὗτοι, ἔλεξεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτοῖς τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες
φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχοιμεν
μέμψασθαι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ μέχρι τοῦδε πάντα ὅσα
εὐχόμεθα καταπεπραχέναι· εἰ μέντοι τοιοῦτον
ἔσται τὸ μέγαλα πράττειν, ὥστε μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι
μήτε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν σχολὴν ἔχειν μήτε μετὰ τῶν φί-
λων εὐφρανθῆναι, ἐγὼ μὲν χαίρειν ταύτην τὴν εὐ-
43 δαιμονίαν κελεύω. ἐνενοήσατε γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ χθὲς
δήπου, ὅτι ἔωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀκούειν τῶν προσ-
ιόντων οὐκ ἔληξάμεν πρόσθεν ἐσπέρας· καὶ νῦν
ὁρᾶτε τούτους ἄλλους πλείονας τῶν χθὲς παρόν-
44 τας, ὡς πράγματα ἡμῖν παρέξοντα. εἰ οὖν τις
τούτοις ὑφέξει ἑαυτόν, λογίζομαι μικρὸν μὲν τι
ὑμῖν μέρος ἐμοῦ μετεσόμενον, μικρὸν δὲ τι ἐμοὶ
ὑμῶν· ἐμαυτοῦ μέντοι σαφῶς οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν
45 μοι μετέσται. ἔτι δ', ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλο ὁρῶ γελοῖον
πράγμα. ἐγὼ γὰρ δήπου ὑμῖν μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς
διάκειμαι, τούτων δὲ τῶν περιστηκόντων ἢ τινα ἢ
οὐδένα οἶδα· καὶ οὗτοι πάντες παρεσκευασμένοι
εἰσὶν ὡς ἦν νικῶσιν ὑμᾶς ὠθοῦντες πρότεροι δ

βούλονται ὑμῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ διαπραξόμενοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡξίουν τοὺς τοιούτους, εἴ τις τι ἐμοῦ δέοιτο, θεραπεύειν ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμούς· φίλους δεομένους προσαγωγῆς. ἴσως ἂν οὖν εἴποι τις, τί δῆτα οὐχ οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρεσκευασάμην, ἀλλὰ παρείχον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἐμαυτόν; ὅτι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοιαῦτα ἐγίγνωσκον ὄντα ὥς μὴ ὑστερίζειν δέον τὸν ἄρχοντα μήτε τὸ εἰδέναι ἃ δεῖ μήτε τὸ πράττειν ἃ ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ· τοὺς δὲ σπανίους ἰδεῖν στρατηγούς πολλὰ ἐνόμιζον ὧν δεῖ πραχθῆναι παρίεναι. νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ 47 φιλοπονώτατος πόλεμος ἀναπέπαυται, δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ ἀναπαύσεώς τινος ἀξιούν τυγχάνειν. ὥς οὖν ἐμοῦ ἀπορούντος ὃ τι ἂν τύχοιμι ποιῶν ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ τε ἡμέτερα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐπιμέλεσθαι, συμβουλευέτω ὃ τι τις ὁρᾷ συμφωρότατον.

Artabazus enlarges on the difficulties of personal intercourse with Cyrus.

Κῦρος μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀνίσταται δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ 48 Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ συγγενὴς ποτε φήσας εἶναι καὶ εἶπεν, Ἥ καλῶς, ἔφη, ἐποίησας, ὦ Κῦρε, ἄρξας τοῦ λόγου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔτι νέου μὲν ὄντος σοῦ πάννυ ἀρξάμενος ἐπεθύμουν φίλος γενέσθαι, ὁρῶν δέ σε οὐδὲν δεόμενον ἐμοῦ κατώκνουσιν σοι προσιέναι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτυχές ποτε 49 καὶ ἐμοῦ δεθθεὶς προθύμως ἐξαγγεῖλαι πρὸς Μήδους τὰ παρὰ Κναξάρου, ἐλογιζόμεν, εἰ ταῦτα προθύμως σοι συλλάβοιμι, ὥς οἰκεῖός τέ σοι ἐσοίμην καὶ ἐξέσοιτό μοι διαλέγεσθαι σοι ὅποσον χρόνον βου-

50 λοίμην. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ ἐπράχθη ὥστε σε ἐπαινεῖν.
 μετὰ τοῦτο Ἑρκάνιοι μὲν πρῶτοι φίλοι ἡμῖν ἐγέν-
 νοντο καὶ μάλα πεινώσι συμμάχων· ὥστε μόνον
 οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις περιεφέρομεν αὐτοὺς ἀγα-
 πῶντες. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπεὶ ἐάλω τὸ πολέμιον
 στρατόπεδον, οὐκ, οἶμαι, σχολή σοι ἦν ἀμφ' ἐμὲ
 51 ἔχειν· καὶ ἐγὼ σοι συνεγίνωσκον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
 Γωβρύας ἡμῖν φίλος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχαιρον· καὶ
 αὐτῷ Γαδάτας· καὶ ἤδη ἔργον σου ἦν μεταλαβεῖν.
 ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι καὶ Σάκαι καὶ Καδούσιοι σύμμαχοι
 ἐγεγέννητο, θεραπεύειν εἰκότως ἔδει τούτους· καὶ
 52 γὰρ οὗτοι σὲ ἐθεράπευον. ὥς δ' ἤλθομεν πάλιν
 ἐνθεν ὠρμήθημεν, ὁρῶν σε ἀμφ' ἵππους ἔχοντα,
 ἀμφ' ἄρματα, ἀμφὶ μηχανάς, ἡγούμην ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ
 τούτου σχολάσαις τότε σε καὶ ἀμφ' ἐμὲ ἔξειν
 σχολήν. ὥς γε μέντοι ἤλθεν ἡ δεινὴ ἀγγελία, τὸ
 πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συλλέγεσθαι, ἐγίνω-
 σκον ὅτι ταῦτα μέγιστα εἶη· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς
 γένοιτο, εὖ ἤδη ἐδόκουν εἰδέναι ὅτι πολλὴ ἔσοιτο
 53 ἀφθονία τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ τῆς σῆς συνουσίας. καὶ νῦν
 δὴ νενικήκαμέν τε τὴν μεγάλην μάχην, καὶ Σάρδεις
 καὶ Κροῖσον ὑποχείριον ἔχομεν, καὶ Βαβυλῶνα
 ἡρῆκαμεν, καὶ πάντα κατεστράμμεθα· καὶ μὰ τὸν
 Μίθρην ἐγὼ τοι ἐχθές, εἰ μὴ πολλοῖς διεπύκτευσα,
 οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην σοι προσελθεῖν. ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι
 ἐδεξιώσω με, καὶ παρὰ σοὶ ἐκέλευσας μένειν, ἤδη
 περίβλεπτος ἦν, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἄσιτος καὶ ἄποτος
 54 διημέρευον. νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν ἔσται πῃ ὅπως οἱ
 πλείστου ἄξιοι γεγενημένοι πλείστόν σου μέρος
 μεθέξομεν· εἰ δὲ μή, πάλιν αὖ ἐγὼ ἐθέλω παρὰ

σοῦ εξαγγέλλειν ἀπιέναι πάντας ἀπὸ σοῦ πλήν
 ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φίλων.

Chrysantas points out that there is not the former
 need for Cygus' appearance in public.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγέλασε μὲν ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἄλλοι πολ- 55
 λοί· Χρυσάντας δὲ ἀνέστη ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἔλεξε
 ὧδε· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρόσθεν, ὦ Κῦρε, εἰκότως ἐν τῷ
 φανερῷ σαυτὸν παρείχες, δι' ἃ τε αὐτὸς εἶπας καὶ
 ὅτι οὐχ ἡμᾶς σοι μάλιστα ἦν θεραπευτέον. ἡμεῖς
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἕνεκα παρήμεν· τὸ δὲ
 πλήθος ἔδει ἀνακτᾶσθαι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, ὅπως
 ὅτι ἥδιστα συμπονεῖν καὶ συγκινδυνεύειν ἡμῖν
 ἐθέλοιεν. νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἔχεις, 56
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους ἀνακτᾶσθαι δύνασαι οὗς καιρὸς
 εἴη, ἥδη καὶ οἰκίας σε τυχεῖν ἄξιον· ἢ τί ἀπο-
 λαύσαις ἂν τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ μόνος ἄμοιρος εἴης
 ἐστίας, οὐ οὔτε ὀσιώτερον χωρίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις
 οὔτε ἡδιον οὔτε οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν οὐδέν; ἔπειτα δ',
 ἔφη, οὐκ ἂν οἶει καὶ ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνεσθαι, εἰ σὲ μὲν
 ὀρώμεν ἔξω καρτεροῦντα, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν οἰκίαις εἴημεν
 καὶ σοῦ δοκοίημεν πλεονεκτεῖν;

Cygus, in accordance with Chrysantas' advice, takes up
 his residence in the Babylonian palace.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Χρυσάντας ταῦτα ἔλεξε, συνηγόρευον 57
 αὐτῷ κατὰ ταῦτὰ πολλοί. ἐκ τούτου δὴ εἰσέρχε-
 ται εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὰ ἐκ Σάρδεων χρήματα
 ἐνταῦθ' οἱ ἄγοντες ἀπέδοσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθε
 Κῦρος, πρῶτον μὲν Ἑστία ἔθυσεν, ἔπειτα Διὶ
 βασιλεῖ, καὶ εἴ τιτι ἄλλῳ θεῷ οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο.

Cyrus appoints to himself a body-guard of eunuchs.

- 58 Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἄλλα ἤδη ἤρχετο διοικεῖν.
 ἐννοῶν δὲ τὸ αὐτοῦ πρᾶγμα, ὅτι ἐπιχειροῖ μὲν
 ἄρχειν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρασκευάζεται δὲ οἰκεῖν
 ἐν πόλει τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν φανερῶν, αὕτη δ' οὕτως
 ἔχει αὐτῷ ὥς πολεμιωτάτῃ ἂν γένοιτο, ταῦτα δὴ
 λογιζόμενος φυλακῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡγήσατο δεῖ-
 59 σθαι. γνοὺς δ' ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἀνθρωποὶ εὐχειρωτότε-
 ροὶ εἰσιν ἢ ἐν σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ λουτροῖς καὶ
 κοίτῃ καὶ ὕπνῳ, ἐσκόπει τίνας ἂν ἐν τούτοις περὶ
 ἑαυτὸν πιστοτάτους ἔχοι. ἐνόμισε δὲ μὴ ἂν γενέ-
 σθαι ποτὲ πιστὸν ἀνθρώπον ὅστις ἄλλον μᾶλλον
 60 φιλήσοι τοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς δεομένου. τοὺς μὲν οὖν
 ἔχοντας παῖδας ἢ γυναῖκας συναρμοττούσας ἢ παι-
 δικά ἔγνω φύσει ἠναγκάσθαι ταῦτα μάλιστα φιλεῖν·
 τοὺς δὲ εὐνούχους ὁρῶν πάντων τούτων στερομένους
 ἡγήσατο τούτους ἂν περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι οἴ-
 τινες δύνανται πλουτίζειν μάλιστα αὐτοὺς, καὶ
 βοηθεῖν εἴ τι ἀδικοῖντο, καὶ τιμὰς περιάπτειν αὐ-
 τοῖς· τούτους δὲ εὐεργετοῦντα ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτὸν
 61 οὐδέν' ἂν ἡγείτο δύνασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἄδοξοι
 ὄντες οἱ εὐνούχοι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο δεσπότην ἐπικούρου προσδέονται· οὐδεὶς
 γὰρ ἂν ᾔην ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσειεν εὐνούχου πλέον
 ἔχειν ἐν παντί, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο κρεῖττον ἀπείργοι·
 δεσπότη δὲ πιστὸν ὄντα οὐδὲν κωλύει πρωτεύειν
 62 καὶ τὸν εὐνούχον. ὃ δ' ἂν μάλιστα τις οἰηθείη,
 ἀνάλκιδας τοὺς εὐνούχους γίνεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο
 ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ. ἔτεκμαίρετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων

ζώων, ὅτι οἷ τε ὑβρισταὶ ἵπποι ἐκτεμνόμενοι τοῦ μὲν δάκνυν καὶ ὑβρίζειν ἀποπαύονται, πολεμικοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἥττον γίγνονται· οἷ τε ταῦροι ἐκτεμνόμενοι τοῦ μὲν μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν ὑφίενται, τοῦ δ' ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οὐ στερίσκονται· καὶ οἷ κύνες δὲ ὡσαύτως τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπειν τοὺς δεσπότης ἀποπαύονται ἐκτεμνόμενοι, φυλάττειν δὲ καὶ εἰς θήραν οὐδὲν κακίους γίγνονται. καὶ οἷ γε ἄνθρω- 63 ποι ὡσαύτως ἡρεμέστεροι γίγνονται, στερισκόμενοι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, οὐ μέντοι ἀμελέστεροί γε τῶν προσταττομένων, οὐδ' ἥττόν τι ἵππικοί, οὐδὲ ἥττόν τι ἀκοντιστικοί, οὐδὲ ἥττον φιλότιμοι. κατὰ δὲ γίγνονται ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις· καὶ ἐν 64 ταῖς θήραις, ὅτι ἔσωζον τὸ φιλόνεικον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. τοῦ δὲ πιστοὶ εἶναι, ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ τῶν δεσποτῶν μάλιστα βάσανον ἐδίδουσαν· οὐδένες γὰρ πιστότερα ἔργα ἀπεδείκνυντο ἐν ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς συμφοραῖς τῶν εὐνούχων. εἰ δέ τι ἄρα τῆς τοῦ 65 σώματος ἰσχύος μειοῦσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ὁ σίδηρος ἀνισοῖ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὲ γιννώσκων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν πάντας τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα θεραπευτῆρας ἐποιήσατο εὐνούχους.

Formation of a palace-guard and city-watch.

Ἦγησάμενος δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὴν εἶναι τὴν φυλακὴν 66 ταύτην πρὸς τὸ πληθὺς τῶν δυσμενῶς ἐχόντων, ἐσκόπει τίνας τῶν ἄλλων ἂν πιστοτάτους περὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον φύλακας λάβοι. εἰδὼς οὖν Πέρσας τοὺς 67

οἱκοι κακοβιωτάτους μὲν ὄντας διὰ πενίαν, ἐπι-
 πονώτατα δὲ ζῶντας διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας τραχύτητα
 καὶ διὰ τὸ αὐτουργοὺς εἶναι, τούτους ἐνόμισε μά-
 68 λιστ' ἂν ἀγαπᾶν τὴν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δίαιταν. λαμ-
 βάνει οὖν τούτων μυρίους δορυφόρους, οἳ κύκλῳ μὲν
 νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐφύλαττον περὶ τὰ βασίλεια,
 ὁπότε ἐπὶ χώρας εἴη· ὁπότε δὲ ἐξίωι ποι, ἔνθεν
 69 καὶ ἔνθεν τεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο. νομίσας δὲ καὶ
 Βαβυλῶνος ὅλης φύλακας δεῖν εἶναι ἱκανούς, εἴτ'
 ἐπιδημῶν αὐτὸς τυγχάνοι εἴτε καὶ ἀποδημῶν, κα-
 τέστησε καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φρουροὺς ἱκανούς· μισθὸν
 δὲ καὶ τούτοις Βαβυλωνίους ἔταξε παρέχειν, βου-
 λόμενος αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀμηχανωτάτους εἶναι, ὅπως ὅτι
 70 ταπεινότατοι καὶ εὐκαθεκτότατοι εἴεν. αὕτη μὲν δὴ
 ἡ περὶ αὐτόν τε φυλακὴ καὶ ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τότε
 κατασταθεῖσα καὶ νῦν ἔτι οὕτως ἔχουσα διαμένει.

Convocation of Cyrus' friends and chief men. Cyrus'
 exhortation to abide in Persian virtues.

Σκοπῶν δ' ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἀρχὴ κατέ-
 χοιτο καὶ ἄλλη ἔτι προσγίγνοιτο, ἡγήσατο τοὺς
 μισθοφόρους τούτους οὐ τοσοῦτον βελτίονας τῶν
 ὑπηκόων εἶναι ὅσον ἐλάττονας· τοὺς δὲ ἀγαθοὺς
 ἄνδρας ἐγίγνωσκε συνεκτέον εἶναι, οἵπερ σὺν
 τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ κρατεῖν παρέσχον, καὶ ἐπιμελητέον
 71 ὅπως μὴ ἀνήσουσι τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄσκησιν. ὅπως
 δὲ μὴ ἐπιτάττειν αὐτοῖς δοκοίη, ἀλλὰ γνόντες καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ταῦτα ἄριστα εἶναι οὕτως ἐμμένειν τε καὶ
 ἐπιμέλονται τῆς ἀρετῆς, συνέλεξε τοὺς τε ὁμοτίμους
 καὶ πάντας ὁπόσοι ἐπικαίριοι ἦσαν καὶ ἀξιοχρεώ-

τατοι ἰδóκουν αὐτῷ κοινωνοὶ εἶναι καὶ πόνων καὶ ἀγαθῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. 72

Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς μεγίστη χάρις, ὅτι ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν τυχεῖν ὧν ἰνομίζομεν ἄξιοι εἶναι. ἰὺν μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἔχομεν καὶ γῆν πολλήν καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ οὔτινες ταύτην ἐργαζόμενοι θρέψουσιν ἡμᾶς· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἐν ταύταις κατασκευάς. καὶ μηδεὶς γε ὑμῶν ἔχων ταῦτα 73 νομισάτω ἀλλότρια ἔχειν· νόμος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἰδιόος ἐστίν, ὅταν πολεμούντων πόλεις ἀλφῶ, τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα. οὐκουν ἀδικία γε ἔξετε ὅτι ἂν ἔχητε, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωπία οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεσθε, ἣν τι ἑᾶτε ἔχειν αὐτούς. τὸ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦδε οὕτως 74 ἐγὼ γιγνώσκω, ὅτι εἰ μὲν τρεψόμεθα ἐπὶ ῥαδιουργίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡδυπάθειαν, οἱ νομίζουσι τὸ μὲν πονεῖν ἀθλιώτατον τὸ δὲ ἀπόνως βιοτεύειν ἡδυπάθειαν, ταχὺ ἡμᾶς φημι ὀλίγου ἀξίους ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ταχὺ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν στερήσεσθαι. οὐ γάρ τοι τὸ ἀγαθοὺς ἄν- 75 δρας γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἀρκεῖ ὥστε καὶ διατελεῖν, ἣν μή τις αὐτοῦ διὰ τέλους ἐπιμελῆται· ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἀμεληθεῖσαι μείονος ἄξιοι γίγνονται, καὶ τὰ σώματά γε αὖ τὰ εὖ ἔχοντα, ὁπότεν τις αὐτὰ ἀνῆ ἐπὶ ῥαδιουργίαν, πονήρως πάλιν ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια καὶ ἡ ἀλκή, ὁπότεν τις αὐτῶν ἀνῆ τὴν ἄσκησιν, ἐκ τούτου εἰς τὴν πονηρίαν πάλιν τρέπεται. οὐκουν δεῖ ἀμελεῖν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτίκα ἡδὺ προῖέναι αὐτούς. μέγα μὲν γάρ, οἶμαι, ἔργον καὶ τὸ

- ἀρχὴν καταπρᾶξαι, πολὺ δ' ἔτι μείζον τὸ λαβόντα διασώσασθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ λαβεῖν πολλάκις τῷ τόλμῳ μόνον παρασχομένῳ ἐγένετο· τὸ δὲ λαβόντα κατέχειν οὐκέτι τοῦτο ἄνευ σωφροσύνης οὐδ' ἄνευ ἐγκρατείας οὐδ' ἄνευ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας γίγνεται.
- 77 ἂν χρὴ γυγνώσκοντας νῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἢ πρὶν τάδε τὰγαθὰ κτήσασθαι, εὖ εἰδότας ὅτι ὅταν πλεῖστά τις ἔχῃ τότε πλεῖστοι καὶ φθονοῦσι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ πολέμιοι γίγνονται, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρ' ἀκόντων τά τε κτήματα καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχῃ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν θεοὺς οἶεσθαι χρὴ σὺν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀδίκως ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβουλευθέντες
- 78 ἐτιμωρησάμεθα. τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο κράτιστον αὐτοῖς παρασκευαστέον· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ βελτίονας ὄντας τῶν ἀρχομένων ἄρχειν ἀξιῶν. θάλπους μὲν οὖν καὶ ψύχους καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ πόνων καὶ ὕπνου ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῖς δούλοις μεταδιδόναι· μεταδιδόντας γε μέντοι πειράσθαι δεῖ ἐν τούτοις
- 79 πρῶτον βελτίονας αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι. πολεμικῆς δ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ μελέτης παντάπασιν οὐ μεταδοτέον τούτοις οὔστινας ἐργάτας ἡμετέρους καὶ δασμοφόρους βουλόμεθα καταστήσασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς δεῖ τούτοις τοῖς ἀσκήμασι πλεονεκτεῖν, γυγνώσκοντας ὅτι ἐλευθερίας ταῦτα ὄργανα καὶ εὐδαιμονίας οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπέδειξαν· καὶ ὥσπερ γε ἐκείνους τὰ ὄπλα ἀφηρήμεθα, οὕτως ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς δεῖ μήποτ' ἐρήμους ὀπλων γίγνεσθαι, εὖ εἰδότας ὅτι τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ τῶν ὀπλων οὖσι τούτοις καὶ
- 80 οἰκειότατά ἐστιν ἂν βούλωνται. εἰ δέ τις τοιαῦτα

ἐννοεῖται, τί δῆτα ἡμῖν ὄφελος καταπράξαι ἃ ἐπε-
 θυμούμεν, εἰ ἔτι δεήσει καρτερεῖν καὶ πεινῶντας καὶ
 διψῶντας καὶ πονοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμελομένους, ἐκείνο
 δεῖ καταμαθεῖν ὅτι τοσούτῳ τὰγαθὰ μᾶλλον εὐ-
 φραίνει ὅσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον προπονήσας τις ἐπ' αὐτὰ
 ἴῃ· οἱ γὰρ πόνοι ὄψον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· ἄνευ δὲ τοῦ
 δεόμενον τυγχάνειν τινὸς οὐδὲν οὕτω πολυτελῶς
 παρασκευασθεῖν ἂν ὥσθ' ἡδὺ εἶναι. εἰ δὲ ὧν μὲν 81
 μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ὁ δαίμων ἡμῖν
 ταῦτα συμπαρασκευάσκει, ὡς δ' ἂν ἥδιστα ταῦτα
 φαίνοιτο αὐτός τις αὐτῷ ταῦτα παρασκευάσει, ὁ
 τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ τοσούτῳ πλεονεκτήσει τῶν ἐνδεεστέ-
 ρων βίου, ὡς πεινήσας τῶν ἡδίστων σίτων τεύξε-
 ται καὶ διψήσας τῶν ἡδίστων ποτῶν ἀπολαύσεται
 καὶ δεηθεὶς ἀναπαύσεως ἡδιστον ἀναπαύσεται. ὧν 82
 ἕνεκα φημι χρῆναι νῦν ἐπιταθῆναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀνδρα-
 γαθίαν, ὅπως τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἢ ἄριστον καὶ ἡδιστον
 ἀπολαύσωμεν, καὶ ὅπως τοῦ πάντων χαλεπωτάτου
 ἅπειροι γενώμεθα. οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ
 οὕτω γε χαλεπὸν ὥσπερ τὸ λαβόντα στερηθῆναι
 λυπηρόν. ἐννοήσατε δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο· τίνα πρόφασιν 83
 ἔχοντες ἂν προσιόμεθα κακίονες ἢ πρόσθεν γενέ-
 σθαι; πότερον ὅτι ἄρχομεν; ἀλλ' οὐ δῆπου τὸν
 ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων πονηρότερον προσήκει
 εἶναι. ἀλλ' ὅτι εὐδαιμονέστεροι δοκοῦμεν νῦν ἢ
 πρότερον εἶναι; ἔπειτα τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ φήσιν τις
 τὴν κακίαν ἐπιπρέπειν; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπεὶ κεκτήμεθα
 δούλους τούτους κολάσομεν ἢ πονηροὺς ὥσι; καὶ
 τί προσήκει αὐτὸν ὄντα πονηρὸν πονηρίας ἕνεκα ἢ
 βλακείας ἄλλους κολάζειν; ἐννοεῖτε ἐς καὶ τοῦ- 84

το, ὅτι τρέφειν μὲν παρεσκευάσμεθα πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων οἴκων φύλακας καὶ τῶν σωμάτων· αἰσχρὸν δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη, εἰ δι' ἄλλους μὲν δορυφόρους τῆς σωτηρίας οἰησόμεθα χρῆναι τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐ δορυφορήσομεν; καὶ μὴν εὖ γε δεῖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη φυλακὴ τοιαύτη οἷα αὐτόν τινα καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν· τοῦτο γὰρ δεῖ συμπαρομαρτεῖν· τῷ δ' ἀρετῆς ἐρήμῳ
85 οὐδὲ ἄλλο καλῶς ἔχειν οὐδὲν προσήκει. τί οὖν φημι χρῆναι ποιεῖν, καὶ ποῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν, καὶ ποῦ τὴν μελέτην ποιεῖσθαι; οὐδὲν καινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐρῶ· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχεῖοις οἱ ὁμότιμοι διάγουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμᾶς φημι χρῆναι ἐνθάδε ὄντας τοὺς ἐντίμους πάντας ἅπερ καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐπιτηδεύειν, καὶ ὑμᾶς γε ἐμὲ ὀρώντας κατανοεῖν παρόντας εἰ ἐπιμελόμενος ὧν δεῖ διάξω, ἐγὼ τε ὑμᾶς κατανόων θεάσομαι, καὶ οὗς ἂν ὀρῶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τἀγαθὰ ἐπιτηδεύοντας, τούτους τιμήσω.
86 καὶ τοὺς παῖδας δέ, οἷς ἂν ἡμῶν γίγνωνται, ἐνθάδε παιδεύωμεν· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ βελτίονες ἐσόμεθα, βουλόμενοι τοῖς παισὶν ὡς βέλτιστα παραδείγματα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχειν, οἳ τε παῖδες οὐδ' ἂν εἰ βούλοιντο ῥαδίως πονηροὶ γένοιντο, αἰσχρὸν μὲν μηδὲν μήτε ὀρώντες μήτε ἀκούοντες, ἐν δὲ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι διημερεύοντες.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ Η'.

I.

Speech of Chrysantas in favour of absolute obedience
to Cyrus.

ΚΥΡΟΣ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀνέστη δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ Χρυ- 1
σάντας καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε· Ἄλλα πολλάκις μὲν δῆ, ὦ
ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοτε κατενόησα ὅτι ἄρχων ἀγαθὸς
οὐδὲν διαφέρει πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ· οἷ τε γὰρ πατέρες
προνοοῦσι τῶν παίδων ὅπως μήποτε αὐτοὺς τὰγαθὰ
ἐπιλείψει, Κῦρός τέ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν συμβουλεύειν
ἡμῖν ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστ' ἂν εὐδαιμονοῦντες διατελοίμεν·
ὃ δέ μοι δοκεῖ ἐνδεέστερον ἢ ὥς ἐχρῆν δηλῶσαι, τοῦτο
ἐγὼ πειράσομαι τοὺς μὴ εἰδότας διδάξαι. ἐννοήσατε 2
γὰρ δῆ· τίς ἂν πόλις πολεμία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων
ἀλοίη; τίς δ' ἂν φίλια ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων διαφυλα-
χθείη; ποῖον δ' ἂν ἀπειθούντων στράτευμα νίκης
τύχοι; πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐν μάχαις ἡττῶντο ἄν-
θρωποι ἢ ἐπειδὰν ἄρξωνται ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος περὶ τῆς
σωτηρίας βουλευέσθαι; τί δ' ἂν ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν
τελεσθείη ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ πειθομένων; ποῖαι δὲ

πόλεις νομίμως ἂν οικησειαν; ἢ ποῖοι οἴκοι σωθείη-
 3 σαν; πῶς δ' ἂν νῆες ὅποι δει ἀφίκοιντο; ἡμεῖς
 δὲ ἂ νῦν ἀγαθὰ ἔχομεν διὰ τί ἄλλο μᾶλλον κατε-
 πράξαμεν ἢ διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι; διὰ
 τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταχὺ μὲν ὅποι
 ἔδει παρεγγυγνόμεθα, ἀθρόοι δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπό-
 μενοι ἀνυπόστατοι ἦμεν, τῶν δ' ἐπιταχθέντων οὐδὲν
 ἡμιτελὲς κατελείπομεν. εἰ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν
 τὸ πειθαρχεῖν φαίνεται εἰς τὸ καταπράττειν τὰγαθὰ,
 οὕτως εὖ ἴστε ὅτι αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸ διασώζειν ἂ
 4 δεῖ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐστί. καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν δὴ
 πολλοὶ ἡμῶν ἦρχον μὲν οὐδενός, ἦρχοντο δέ· νῦν δὲ
 κατεσκεύασθε οὕτω πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὥστε ἄρ-
 χετε οἱ μὲν πλειόνων, οἱ δὲ μειόνων. ὥσπερ τοίνυν
 αὐτοὶ ἀξιώσετε ἄρχειν τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῖν, οὕτω καὶ
 αὐτοὶ πειθώμεθα οἷς ἂν ἡμᾶς καθήκη. τοσοῦτον δὲ
 διαφέρειν δεῖ τῶν δούλων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν δούλοι
 ἄκοντες τοῖς δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσιν, ἡμᾶς δέ, εἴπερ
 ἀξιούμεν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι, ἐκόντας δεῖ ποιεῖν ὃ
 πλείστου ἄξιον φαίνεται εἶναι. εὐρησετε δέ, ἔφη,
 καὶ ἐνθα ἄνευ μοναρχίας πόλις οἰκεῖται, τὴν μά-
 λιστα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐθέλουσαν πείθεσθαι ταύτην
 ἥκιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκαζομένην ὑπακούειν.
 5 παρῶμέν τε οὖν, ὥσπερ Κύρος κελεύει, ἐπὶ τόδε τὸ
 ἀρχεῖον, ἀσκῶμέν τε δι' ὧν μάλιστα δυνασόμεθα
 κατέχειν ἂ δεῖ, παρέχωμέν τε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι
 Κύρῳ ὃ τι ἂν δέη. καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ εὖ εἶδέναι χρή,
 ὅτι οὐ μὴ δύνηται Κύρος εὐρεῖν ὃ τι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐπ'
 ἀγαθῷ χρήσεται ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ· ἐπείπερ τά γε αὐτὰ
 ἡμῖν συμφέρει καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι.

The ἔντιμοι bind themselves to Cyrus' personal service.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπε Χρυσάντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ 6
 ἄλλοι ἀνίσταντο πολλοὶ καὶ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν συμ-
 μάχων συνεροῦντες· καὶ ἔδοξε τοὺς ἐντίμους ἀεὶ
 παρεῖναι ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι
 ὃ τι βούληται ἕως ἀφείη Κύρος. ὥς δὲ τότε
 ἔδοξεν οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν
 Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ὄντες, θεραπεύουσι τὰς τῶν
 ἀρχόντων θύρας. ὥς δ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δεδήλωται 7
 Κύρος καταστησάμενος εἰς τὸ διαφυλάττειν αὐτῷ
 τε καὶ Πέρσαις τὴν ἀρχήν, ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνων
 βασιλεῖς νόμιμα ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι ποιοῦντες.
 οὕτω δ' ἔχει καὶ ταῦτα ὥσπερ καὶ τὰλλα· ὅταν 8
 μὲν ὁ ἐπιστάτης βελτίων γένηται, καθαρώτερον τὰ
 νόμιμα πράττεται· ὅταν δὲ χείρων, φαυλότερον.
 ἐφοίτων μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Κύρου οἱ ἔντιμοι
 σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς, συνδόξαν πᾶσι
 τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν συγκαταστρεψαμένων τὴν ἀρ-
 χήν.

Domestic policy of Cyrus.

Κύρος δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὰλλα καθίστη ἄλλους ἐπι- 9
 μελητάς, καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ καὶ προσόδων ἀποδεκτῆρες
 καὶ δαπανημάτων δοτῆρες καὶ ἔργων ἐπιστάται καὶ
 κτημάτων φύλακες καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν δίκαιαν ἐπιτη-
 δεῶν ἐπιμεληταί· καὶ ἵππων δὲ καὶ κυνῶν ἐπιμε-
 λητὰς καθίστη οὗς ἐνόμιζε καὶ ταῦτα τὰ βοσκήματα
 βέλτιστ' ἂν παρέχειν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι. οὗς δὲ συμ- 10
 φύλακας τῆς εὐδαιμονίας οἱ ᾤετο χρῆναι ἔχειν,

- τούτους ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστοι ἔσονται οὐκέτι τούτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἄλλοις προσέταπτεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνόμιζε τοῦτο ἔργον εἶναι. ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι εἴ τι μάχης ποτὲ δεήσοι ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ παρὰ στάτας καὶ ἐπιστάτας ληπτέον εἴη σὺν οἷσπερ οἱ μέγιστοι κίνδυνοι· καὶ ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἐγύγνωσκεν ἐκ τούτων καταστατέον
- 11 εἶναι. εἰ δὲ δέοι καὶ στρατηγῶν που ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, ἦδει ὅτι ἐκ τούτων πεμπτέον εἴη· καὶ πόλεων δὲ καὶ ὅλων ἐθνῶν φύλαξι καὶ σατράπαις ἦδει ὅτι τούτων τιςὶν εἴη χρηστέον καὶ πρέσβεις γε τούτων τινὰς πεμπτέον, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἡγεῖτο εἶναι
- 12 εἰς τὸ ἄνευ πολέμου τυγχάνειν ὧν δέοιτο. μὴ ὅντων μὲν οὖν οἷων δεῖ δι' ὧν αἱ μέγιστα καὶ πλείεσται πράξεις ἐμελλόν εἶναι, κακῶς ἡγεῖτο τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔξειν· εἰ δ' οὗτοι εἴεν οἷους δέοι, πάντα ἐνόμιζε καλῶς ἔσεσθαι. ἐνέδου μὲν οὖν, οὕτω γινούς, εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἐνόμιζε δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτῷ ἄσκησιν εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς. οὐ γὰρ ᾤετο οἷον τε εἶναι μὴ αὐτόν τινα ὄντα οἷον δεῖ ἄλλους πα-
- 13 ρορμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰγαθὰ ἔργα. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διενοήθη, ἡγήσατο σχολῆς πρῶτον δεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι δυνήσεσθαι τῶν κρατίστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν προσόδων ἀμελεῖν οὐχ οἷον τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, προνοῶν ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ τελεῖν ἀνάγκη ἔσονται εἰς μεγάλην ἀρχήν· τὸ δ' αὖ πολλῶν κτημάτων ὄντων ἀμφὶ ταῦτα αὐτόν ἀεὶ ἔχειν ἦδει ὅτι ἀσχολίαν παρέξει τῆς τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίας
- 14 καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. οὕτω δὲ σκοπῶν ὅπως ἂν τὰ τε μικρὰ καλῶς ἔχοι καὶ ἡ σχολὴ γένοιτο, κατε-

νόησέ πως τὴν στρατιωτικὴν σύνταξιν. ὥς γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ δεκάδαρχοι μὲν δεκαδέων ἐπιμέλονται, λοχαγοὶ δὲ δεκαδάρχων, χιλιάρχοι δὲ λοχαγῶν, μυρίαρχοι δὲ χιλιάρχων· καὶ οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἀτημέλητος γίγνεται, οὐδ' ἦν πάνυ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ὥσι· καὶ ὅταν ὁ στρατηγὸς βούληται χρήσασθαι τι τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἄρκει ἦν τοῖς μυρίαρχοις παραγγείλῃ· ὥσπερ οὖν ταῦτα ἔχει, οὕτω 15 καὶ ὁ Κῦρος συνεκεφαλαιώσατο τὰς οἰκονομικὰς πράξεις· ὥστε καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐγένετο ὀλίγοις διαλεγόμενῳ μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἀγμελήτως ἔχειν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἤδη σχολὴν ἤγε πλείω ἢ ἄλλος μιᾶς οἰκίας καὶ μιᾶς νεῶς ἐπιμελούμενος. οὕτω δὲ καταστησάμενος τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐδίδαξε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει χρῆσθαι.

Means of securing attendance at court.

Τὴν μὲν δὲ σχολὴν οὕτω κατεσκευάσατο αὐτῷ 16 τε καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἤρχετο δ' ἐπιστατεῖν τοῦ εἶναι οἷους δεῖ τοὺς κοινῶνας. πρῶτον μὲν ὁπόσοι ὄντες ἱκανοὶ ἄλλων ἐργαζομένων τρέφεισθαι μὴ παρῆεν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, τούτους ἐπεζήτηι, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν παρόντας οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλειν οὔτε κακὸν οὔτε αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν πράττειν καὶ διὰ τὸ παρ' ἄρχοντι εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι ὀρῶντ' ἂν ὅ τι πράττοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίστων· οἳ δὲ μὴ παρῆεν, τούτους ἠγεῖτο ἢ ἀκρατεῖα τινὶ ἢ ἀδικίᾳ ἢ ἀμελείᾳ ἀπεῖναι. τοῦτο οὖν πρῶτον διηγησόμεθα ὥς προσηνάγκαζε 17 τοὺς τοιούτους παρῆναι. τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ μάλιστα φίλων ἐκέλευσεν ἂν τινὰ λαβεῖν τὰ τοῦ μὴ φοι-

τῶντος, φάσκοντα λαμβάνειν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ οὖν
 τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἤκον ἂν εὐθύς οἱ στερόμενοι ὥς
 18 ἡδικοημένοι. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πολλὸν μὲν χρόνον οὐκ
 ἐσχόλαζε τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπακούειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκού-
 σαιεν αὐτῶν, πολλὸν χρόνον ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν διαδι-
 κασίαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν ἡγεῖτο προσεθίζειν αὐτοὺς
 θεραπεύειν, ἥττον δὲ ἐχθρῶς ἢ εἰ αὐτὸς κολάζων
 19 ἡνάγκαζε παρῆναι. εἰς μὲν τρόπος διδασκαλίας ἦν
 αὐτῷ οὗτος τοῦ παρῆναι· ἄλλος δὲ τὸ τὰ ῥᾶστα
 καὶ κερδαλεώτατα τοῖς παροῦσι προστάττειν· ἄλ-
 20 λος δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ποτε τοῖς ἀποῦσι νέμειν· ὁ δὲ δὴ
 μέγιστος τρόπος τῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, εἰ τούτων
 μηδενὸς ὑπακούοι, ἀφελόμενος ἂν τοῦτον ἂ ἔχοι
 ἄλλῃ ἐδίδου ὃν ᾔετο δύνασθαι ἂν ἐν τῷ δέοντι παρ-
 εῖναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐγίνετο αὐτῷ φίλος χρήσιμος
 ἀντὶ ἀχρήστου. ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ νῦν βασιλεὺς,
 ἦν τις ἀπῇ οἷς παρῆναι καθήκει.

Cyrus' enforcement of his wishes by example.

21 Τοῖς μὲν δὴ μὴ παροῦσιν οὕτω προσεφέρετο.
 τοὺς δὲ παρέχοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἂν
 ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἐπαίρειν, [ἐπεὶ περ ἄρχων
 αὐτῶν ἐνόμιζε δικαίως εἶναι,] εἰ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
 ἐπιδεικνύειν πειρῶτο τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πάντων μά-
 22 λιστα κεκοσμημένον τῇ ἀρετῇ. αἰσθάνεσθαι μὲν
 γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ διὰ τοὺς γραφομένους νόμους βελ-
 τίους γυγνομένους ἀνθρώπους, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἄρ-
 χοντα βλέποντα νόμον ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμισεν, ὅτι καὶ
 τάττειν ἱκανός ἐστι καὶ ὁρᾶν τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ
 23 κολάζειν. οὕτω δὴ γυγνώσκων πρῶτον μὲν τὰ

περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μᾶλλον ἐκπονοῦντα ἐπεδείκνυνεν
ἐαυτὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὐδαιμονέστερος
ἦν. καὶ τότε πρῶτον κατεστάθησαν οἱ μάγοι, ὕμνει
τε αἰεὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἔθυνεν ἂν ἐκά-
στην ἡμέραν οἷς οἱ μάγοι θεοῖς εἵποιεν. οὕτω δὴ τὰ 24
τότε κατασταθέντα ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῷ
αἰεὶ ὄντι βασιλεῖ. ταῦτα οὖν πρῶτον ἐμμοῦντο
αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι, νομίζοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ
εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἔσεσθαι ἢν θεραπεύωσι τοὺς θεοὺς
ὥσπερ ὁ εὐδαιμονέστατός τε ὢν καὶ ἄρχων· καὶ
Κύρῳ δ' ἂν ἡγοῦντο ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἀρέσκειν.
ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὴν τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ εὐσέβειαν καὶ 25
ἐαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, λογιζόμενος ὥσπερ οἱ πλεῖν
αἰρούμενοι μετὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τῶν
ἡσεβηκέναι τι δοκούντων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐλογί-
ζετο ὥς εἰ πάντες οἱ κοινῶνες θεοσεβεῖς εἴεν ἡττον
ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐθέλειν περὶ τε ἀλλήλους ἀνύσιόν τι
ποιεῖν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτόν, εὐεργέτης νομίζων εἶναι τῶν
κοινῶνων. ἐμφανίζων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι περὶ πολ- 26
λοῦ ἐποιεῖτο μηδὲνα μῆτε φίλον ἀδικεῖν μῆτε σύμ-
μαχον, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρῶς ὀρῶν, μᾶλλον καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους ᾤετ' ἂν τῶν μὲν αἰσχυρῶν κερδῶν ἀπέ-
χεσθαι διὰ τοῦ δικαίου δ' ἐθέλειν πορίζεσθαι. καὶ 27
αἰδοῦς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἡγεῖτο πάντα ἐμπιμπλάναι εἰ
αὐτὸς φανερὸς εἴη πάντα οὕτως αἰδούμενος ὥς
μῆτ' εἰπεῖν ἂν μῆτε ποιῆσαι μηδὲν αἰσχυρόν. ἔτεκ- 28
μαίρετο δὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἕξειν ἐκ τοῦδε· μὴ γὰρ ὅτι
ἄρχοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐς οὐ φοβοῦνται, μᾶλλον τοὺς
αἰδουμένους αἰδοῦνται τῶν ἀναιδῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι·
καὶ γυναῖκας δὲ ἅς ἂν αἰδουμένας αἰσθάνωνται ἀντ-

- 29 αιδεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσιν ὁρῶντες. τὸ δ' αὖ
 πείθεσθαι οὕτω μάλιστα ἂν ᾤετο ἔμμονον εἶναι τοῖς
 περὶ αὐτόν, εἰ τοὺς ἀπροφασίστως πειθομένους
 φανερὸς εἴη μᾶλλον τιμῶν τῶν τὰς μεγίστας ἀρετὰς
 καὶ ἐπιπονωτάτας δοκοῦντων παρέχεσθαι. γιγνῶ-
 30 σκων δ' οὕτω καὶ ποιῶν διετέλει. καὶ σωφροσύνην δ'
 αὐτοῦ ἐπιδεικνὺς μᾶλλον ἐποίει καὶ ταύτην πάντας
 ἀσκεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ ὁρῶσιν ᾧ μάλιστα ἔξεστιν
 ὑβρίζειν τοῦτον σωφρονοῦντα, οὕτω μᾶλλον οἷ γε
 ἀσθενέστεροι ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ποιοῦντες
 31 φανεροὶ εἶναι. διήρει δὲ αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην τῇδε,
 ὥς τοὺς μὲν αἰδουμένους τὰ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ αἰσχυρὰ
 φεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί.
 32 καὶ ἐγκράτειαν δὲ οὕτω μάλιστα ἂν ᾤετο ἀσκεῖ-
 σθαι, εἰ αὐτοὺς ἐπιδεικνύοι ἑαυτὸν μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν
 παραυτίκα ἡδονῶν ἐλκόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν,
 ἀλλὰ προπονεῖν ἐθέλοντα πρῶτον σὺν τῷ καλῷ
 33 τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν. τοιγαροῦν τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐποίησεν
 ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πολλὴν μὲν τῶν χειρόνων εὐταξίαν
 ὑπαικόντων τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, πολλὴν δ' αἰδῶ καὶ
 εὐκοσμίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἐπέγνωσ δ' ἂν ἐκεῖ
 οὐδένα οὔτε ὀργιζόμενον κραυγῇ οὔτε χαίροντα
 ὑβριστικῷ γέλωτι, ἀλλὰ ἰδὼν ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσω τῷ
 ὄντι εἰς κάλλος ζῆν.

Institution of hunting as a regular exercise.

- 84 Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ποιοῦντες καὶ ὁρῶντες ἐπὶ θύ-
 ραις διηγῶν. τῆς πολεμικῆς δ' ἕνεκα ἀσκήσεως ἐπὶ
 θήραν ἐξήγεγν οὗσπερ ἀσκεῖν ταῦτα ᾤετο χρῆναι·
 ταύτην ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅλως ἀρίστην ἀσκησιν πολε-

μικῶν εἶναι καὶ ἵππικῆς δὲ ἀληθεστάτην. καὶ γὰρ 35
 ἐπόχους ἐν παντοδαποῖς χωρίοις αὕτη μάλιστα
 ἀποδείκνυσι διὰ τὸ θηρίοις φεύγουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι·
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐνεργοὺς αὕτη μάλιστα ἀπερ-
 γάζεται διὰ τὴν τοῦ λαμβάνειν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ
 ἐπιθυμίαν. καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν δὲ καὶ πόρους καὶ 36
 ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ λιμὸν καὶ δίψῃς δύνασθαι
 φέρειν ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα προσείθιζε τοὺς κοινῶνας.
 καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ
 βασιλέα ταῦτα ποιοῦντες διατελοῦσιν. ὅτι μὲν 37
 οὖν οὐκ ᾔετο προσήκειν οὐδενὶ ἀρχῆς ὅστις μὴ
 βελτίων εἴη τῶν ἀρχομένων, καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις
 πᾶσι δῆλον· καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ἀσκῶν τοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν
 πολὺ μάλιστα αὐτὸς ἐξεπώνει καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν,
 καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς μελέτας. καὶ γὰρ 38
 ἐπὶ θήραν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐξῆγγεν, ὁπότε μὴ μένειν
 ἀνάγκη τις εἴη· αὐτὸς δέ, ὁπότε ἀνάγκη εἴη, οἴκοι
 ἐθήρα τὰ ἐν τοῖς παραδείσοις θηρία τρεφόμενα· καὶ
 οὔτε αὐτὸς ποτε πρὶν ιδρῶσαι δεῖπνον ἡρεῖτο
 οὔτε ἵπποις ἀγυμνάστοις σῖτον ἐνέβαλλε· συμ-
 παρεκάλει δὲ καὶ εἰς ταύτην τὴν θήραν τοὺς περὶ
 αὐτὸν σκηπτούχους. τοιγαροῦν πολὺ μὲν αὐτὸς 39
 διάφερον ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις, πολὺ δὲ οἱ
 περὶ ἐκείνουν, διὰ τὴν αἰεὶ μελέτην. παράδειγμα μὲν
 δὴ τοῖονδε ἑαυτὸν παρείχετο. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων οὔστινας μάλιστα ὀρώῃ τὰ καλὰ διώ-
 κοντας, τούτους καὶ δώροις καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἔδραις
 καὶ πάσαις τιμαῖς ἐγέραιεν· ὥστε πολλὴν πᾶσι
 φιλοτιμίαν ἐνέβαλλεν ὅπως ἕκαστος ἄριστος φανεῖται
 τῷ Κύρῳ.

Rules as to dress and behaviour of the *ἔιτιμοι*.

- 40 Καταμαθεῖν δὲ τοῦ Κύρου δοκοῦμεν ὥς οὐ τοῦ-
τῳ μόνῳ ἐνόμιζε χρῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ἀρ-
χομένων διαφέρειν, τῷ βελτιόνας αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
καὶ καταγοητεύειν ᾧετο χρῆναι αὐτούς. στολὴν τε
γούν εἴλετο τὴν Μηδικὴν αὐτός τε φορεῖν καὶ τοὺς
κοινῶνας ταύτην ἐπεισεν ἐνδύεσθαι· αὕτη γὰρ αὐτῷ
συγκρύπτειν ἐδόκει εἰ τίς τι ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐνδεὲς
ἔχοι, καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μεγίστους ἐπιδεικνύναι
41 τοὺς φοροῦντας. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματα τοιαῦτα
ἔχουσιν ἐν οἷς μάλιστα λαθεῖν ἔστι καὶ ὑποτιθε-
μένους τι ὥστε δοκεῖν μείζους εἶναι ἢ εἰσί. καὶ
ὑποχρίεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς προσέλετο, ὥς
εὐοφθαλμότεροι φαίνονται ἢ εἰσί, καὶ ἐντρίβεσθαι,
42 ὥς εὐχρώτεροι ὀρῶντο ἢ πεφύκασιν. ἐμελέτησε
δὲ καὶ ὥς μήτε πτύοντες μήτε ἀπομυττόμενοι φανε-
ροὶ εἶεν, μηδὲ μεταστρεφόμενοι ἐπὶ θεῶν μηδενός,
ὥς οὐδὲν θαυμάζοντες. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ᾧετο φέρειν
τι εἰς τὸ δυσκαταφρονητοτέρους φαίνεσθαι τοῖς
ἀρχομένοις.

Cyrus' policy towards the subject-classes.

- 43 Οὗς μὲν δὴ ἄρχειν ᾧετο χρῆναι δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὕτω
κατεσκεύασε καὶ μελέτη καὶ τῷ σεμνῶς προστάναι
αὐτῶν· οὗς δ' αὖ κατεσκεύαζεν εἰς τὸ δουλεύειν,
τούτους οὔτε μελετᾶν τῶν ἐλευθερίων πόνων οὐδένα
παρώρμα οὔθ' ὄπλα κεκτῆσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν· ἐπεμέ-
λετο δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἄσιτοι μήτε ἄποτοί ποτε ἔσονται
44 ἐλευθερίων ἕνεκα μελετημάτων. καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε

ἐλαύνουσιν τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἵππευσιν εἰς τὰ πεδία, φέρεσθαι σῖτον εἰς θήραν τούτοις ἐπέτρεπε, τῶν δὲ ἐλευθέρων οὐδενί· καὶ ὅποτε πορεία εἴη, ἦγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ὕδατα ὥσπερ τὰ ὑποζύγια· καὶ ὅποτε δὲ ὦρα εἴη ἀρίστου, ἀνέμενεν αὐτοὺς ἕστε ἐμφάγοιεν τι, ὥς μὴ βουλιμιῶεν· ὥστε καὶ οὗτοι αὐτὸν ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι πατέρα ἐκάλουν, ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο αὐτῶν ὅπως ἀναμφιλόγως αἰεὶ ἀνδράποδα διατελοῖεν. τῇ 45 μὲν δὴ ὅλῃ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ οὕτω τὴν ἀσφάλειαν κατεσκεύαζεν. ἑαυτῷ δὲ ὅτι μὲν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν καταστραφέντων κίνδυνος εἴη παθεῖν τι ἰσχυρῶς ἐθάρρει· καὶ γὰρ ἀνάλκιδας ἠγεῖτο εἶναι αὐτούς, καὶ ἀσυντάκτους ὄντας ἑώρα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τούτων οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας. οὗς δὲ κρατίστους τε ἠγεῖτο, καὶ ὠπλισμένους καὶ 46 ἀθρόους ὄντας ἑώρα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἦδει ἱππέων ἠγεμόνας ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ πεζῶν, πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φρονήματα ἔχοντας ἠσθάνετο ὥς ἱκανοὺς ὄντας ἄρχειν· καὶ τοῖς φύλαξι δὲ αὐτοῦ οὗτοι μάλιστα ἐπλησίαζον καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ Κύρῳ τούτων πολλοὶ πολλάκις συνεμήγνυσαν, ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν εἴ τι καὶ χρῆσθαι ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς· ὑπὸ τούτων οὖν καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν αὐτὸν μάλιστα παθεῖν τι κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους. σκοπῶν οὖν ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ 47 ἀπὸ τούτων ἀκίνδυνα γένοιτο, τὸ μὲν περιελέσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἀπολέμους ποιῆσαι ἀπεδοκίμασε, καὶ ἄδικον ἠγούμενος, καὶ κατάλυσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο νομίζων· τὸ δ' αὖ μὴ προσίσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἀπιστοῦντα φανερὸν εἶναι ἀρχὴν ἠγήσατο πολέμου· ἐν δ' ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων ἔγνω 48

καὶ κράτιστον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κάλλιστον, εἰ δύναίτο ποιῆσαι τοὺς κρατίστους ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους ἢ ἀλλήλοις. ὥς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἡμῖν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι.

II.

Analysis of Cyrus' popularity : his bestowal of food from his own table (§§ 3-6) ; the magnificence of his gifts (§§ 7-12) ; his personal care for his friends, his relation to whom he justifies to Croesus (§§ 13-23) ; his provisions against their sickness (§§ 24, 25) ; his encouragement of rivalries (§§ 26-28).

- 1 ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν γὰρ διὰ παντὸς αἰὲ τοῦ χρόνου φι-
λανθρωπίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ὥς ἡδύνατο μάλιστα ἐνε-
φάνιζεν· ἡγούμενος, ὥσπερ οὐ ῥᾶδιόν ἐστι φιλεῖν
τοὺς μισεῖν δοκοῦντας οὐδ' εὐνοεῖν τοῖς κακονόοις,
οὕτω καὶ τοὺς γνωσθέντας ὥς φιλοῦσι καὶ εὐνοοῦ-
σιν οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλεῖσθαι
- 2 ἡγουμένων. ἕως μὲν οὖν χρήμασιν ἀδυνατώτερος
ἦν εὐεργετεῖν, τῷ τε προνοεῖν τῶν συνόντων καὶ τῷ
προπονεῖν καὶ τῷ συνηδόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
φανερὸς εἶναι συναχθόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς,
τούτοις ἐπειρᾶτο θηρεύειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ
ὥστε χρήμασιν εὐεργετεῖν, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν γινῶναι πρῶ-
τον μὲν ὥς εὐεργέτημα ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἀλλήλους
οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δαπάνης ἐπιχαριτώτερον
- 3 ἢ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν μετάδοσις. τοῦτο δ' οὕτω νομί-
σας πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν συνέταξεν

ὅπως οἷς αὐτὸς σιτοῖτο σίτοις τούτοις ὅμοια ἀεὶ παρατίθοντο αὐτῷ, ἱκανὰ παμπόλλοις ἀνθρώποις· ὅσα δε παρατεθείη, ταῦτα πάντα, πλὴν οἷς αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σύνδειπνοι χρῆσαιντο, διεδίδου οἷς βούλοιτο τῶν φίλων μνήμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἢ φιλοφροσύνην. ὀίεπεμπε δὲ καὶ τούτοις οὕς ἀγασθείη ἢ ἐν φυλακαῖς ἢ ἐν θεραπαίαις ἢ ἐν αἰστισινοῦν πράξεσιν, ἐνσημαινόμενος τοῦτο ὅτι οὐκ ἂν λανθάνοιεν χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι. ἐτίμα δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ τῆς 4 τραπέξης ὅποτε τινὰ ἐπαινέσειε· καὶ τὸν πάντα δε σῦτον τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν ἐπετίθετο, οἰόμενος ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς κυσὶν ἐμποιεῖν τινα καὶ τοῦτο εὖνοιαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι τινα βούλοιτο τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ τούτοις ἐπεμπε ἀπὸ τραπέξης· καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἔτι οἷς ἂν ὀρώσι πεμπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέξης, τούτους πάντες θεραπεύουσι μῦλλον, νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἐντίμους εἶναι καὶ ἱκανοὺς διαπράττειν ἣν τι δέωνται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ οὐ τούτων μόνον ἔνεκα τῶν εἰρημέων εὐφραίνει τὰ πεμπόμενα παρὰ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἡδονῇ πολὺ διαφέρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέξης. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι οὕτως ἔχειν οὐδέν 5 τι θαυμαστόν· ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι διαφερόντως ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσιν ἐξεργασμέναι εἰσὶ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ παρὰ βασιλεῖ σῦτα πολὺ διαφερόντως ἐκπεπύνηται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσι κλίνην, θύραν, ἄροτρον, τράπεζαν, πολλάκις δ' ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ, καὶ ἀγαπᾷ ἣν καὶ οὕτως ἱκανοὺς αὐτὸν τρέφειν ἐργοδότας λαμβάνη· ἀδύνατον οὖν πολλὰ

- τεχνώμενον ἄνθρωπον πάντα καλῶς ποιεῖν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκάστου δεῖσθαι ἄρκει καὶ μίᾳ ἐκάστῃ τέχνῃ εἰς τὸ τρέφεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ οὐδ' ὅλη μία, ἀλλ' ὑποδήματα ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεία ὁ δὲ γυναικεία· ἔστι δὲ ἔνθα καὶ ὑποδήματα ὁ μὲν νευρορραφῶν μόνον τρέφεται, ὁ δὲ σχίζων, ὁ δὲ χιτῶνας μόνον συντέμνων, ὁ δὲ γε τούτων οὐδὲν ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ συντιθεὶς ταῦτα. ἀνάγκη οὖν τὸν ἐν βραχυτάτῳ διατρίβοντα ἔργῳ τούτῳ 6 καὶ ἄριστα διηναγκάσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο πέπονθε καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ὧ μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς κλίην στρώννυσι, τράπεζαν κοσμεῖ, μάττει, ὅψα ἄλλοτε ἄλλοῖα ποιεῖ, ἀνάγκη, οἶμαι, τούτῳ ὥς ἂν ἕκαστον προχωρῇ οὕτως· ἔχειν· ὅπου δὲ ἱκανὸν ἔργον ἐνὶ ἔψειν κρέα, ἄλλῳ ὀπτᾶν, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἰχθὺν ἔψειν, ἄλλῳ ὀπτᾶν, ἄλλῳ ἄρτους ποιεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ τούτους παντοδαπούς, ἀλλὰ ἄρκει ἂν ἐν εἶδος εὐδοκιμοῦν παράσχῃ, ἀνάγκη, οἶμαι, ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα πολὺ διαφερόντως ἐξειργάσθαι ἕκαστον.
- 7 τῇ μὲν δὴ τῶν σίτων θεραπείᾳ τοιαῦτα ποιῶν πολὺ ὑπερεβάλετο πάντας. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι θεραπεύων πολὺ ἐκράτει, τοῦτο νῦν διηγῆσομαι· πολὺ γὰρ διενεγκὼν ἀνθρώπων τῷ πλείεστας προσόδους λαμβάνειν, πολὺ ἔτι πλέον διήνεγκε τῷ πλείεστα ἀνθρώπων δωρεῖσθαι. κατήρξε μὲν οὖν 8 τούτου Κῦρος, διαμένει δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἢ πολυδωρία. τίνι μὲν γὰρ φίλοι πλουσιώτεροι ὄντες φανεροὶ ἢ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ; τίς δὲ κοσμῶν κάλλιον φαίνεται στολαῖς τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ βασιλεὺς; τίνος δὲ δῶρα γιγνώσκεται ὥσπερ ἔνια

τῶν βασιλέως, ψέλια καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἵπποι χρυ-
 σοχάλινοι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔξεστιν ἐκεῖ ταῦτα ἔχειν ὃ
 ἂν μὴ βασιλεὺς δῶ. τίς δ' ἄλλος λέγεται δώρων ὃ
 μεγέθει ποιεῖν αἰρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀντ' ἀδελφῶν
 καὶ ἀντὶ πατέρων καὶ ἀντὶ παίδων; τίς δ' ἄλλος
 ἐδυνάσθη ἐχθροὺς ἀπέχοντας πολλῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν
 τιμωρεῖσθαι ὡς Περσῶν βασιλεὺς; τίς δ' ἄλλος
 καταστρεψάμενος ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων πατήρ
 καλούμενος ἀπέθανεν ἢ Κῦρος; τοῦτο δὲ τοῦνομα
 δῆλον ὅτι εὐεργετοῦντός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφαιρουμέ-
 νου. κατεμάθομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς βασιλέως καλου- 10
 μένους ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ βασιλέως ὦτα οὐκ ἄλλως
 ἐκτήσατο ἢ τῷ δωρεῖσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶν· τοὺς γὰρ
 ἀπαργεῖλαντας ὅσα καιρὸς αὐτῷ εἶη πεπύσθαι με-
 γάλως εὐεργετῶν πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώπους καὶ
 ὠτακουστεῖν καὶ διοπτεύειν τί ἂν ἀργεῖλαντες ὠφε-
 λήσειαν βασιλέα. ἐκ τούτου δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ ἐνομί- 11
 σθησαν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ πολλὰ ὦτα. εἰ δέ
 τις οἶεται ἕνα αἰρετὸν εἶναι ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλεῖ, οὐκ
 ὀρθῶς οἶεται· ὀλίγα γὰρ εἰς γ' ἂν ἴδοι καὶ εἰς
 ἀκούσει· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὥσπερ ἀμελεῖν ἂν παραγ-
 γελλόμενον εἶη, εἰ ἐνὶ τούτῳ προστεταγμένον εἶη·
 πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄντινα γινώσκουσιν ὀφθαλμὸν ὄντα,
 τούτον ἂν εἶδεῖν ὅτι φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ. ἀλλ' οὐχ
 οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φάσκοντος ἀκούσαι τι ἢ ἰδεῖν
 ἄξιον ἐπιμελείας παντὸς βασιλεὺς ἀκούει. οὕτω 12
 δὴ πολλὰ μὲν βασιλέως ὦτα, πολλοὶ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ
 νομίζονται· καὶ φοβοῦνται πανταχοῦ λέγειν τὰ μὴ
 σύμφορα βασιλεῖ, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ ἀκούοντος, καὶ
 ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ σύμφορα, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ παρόντος. οὐ·

κουν ὅπως μνησθῆναι ἂν τις ἐτόλμησε πρὸς τινα περὶ Κύρου φλαυρόν τι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ὡς βασιλέως τοῖς αἰ παροῦσιν οὕτως ἕκαστος διέκειτο. τοῦ δὲ οὕτω διακεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι μεγάλα ἤθελεν ἀντὶ μικρῶν εὐεργετῆν.

- 13 καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ μεγέθει δώρων ὑπερβαλέσθαι, πλουσιώτατον ὄντα, οὐ θαυμαστόν· τὸ δὲ τῇ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν φίλων βασιλεύοντα περιγίγνεσθαι, τοῦτο ἀξιολογώτερον. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν λέγεται κατὰδηλος εἶναι μηδενὶ ἂν οὕτως αἰσῆχυν-
- 14 θεῖς ἡττώμενος ὥς φίλων θεραπείᾳ. καὶ λόγος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπομνημονεύεται, ὥς λέγοι, παραπλήσια ἔργα εἶναι νομέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ· τὸν τε γὰρ νομέα χρῆναι ἄρα ἔφη εὐδαίμονα τὰ κτήνη ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἢ δὴ προβάτων εὐδαιμονία, τὸν τε βασιλέα ὡσαύτως εὐδαίμονα πόλεις καὶ ἀνθρώπους ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἴπερ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν γνώμην τὸ φιλονίκως ἔχειν πάντων ἀνθρώπων θεραπείᾳ
- 15 περιγίγνεσθαι. καλὸν δὲ ἐπίδειγμα καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται Κύρος ἐπιδείξαι Κροίσῳ, ὅτε ἐνουθέτει αὐτὸν ὥς διὰ τὸ πολλὰ δίδόναι πένης ἔσοιτο, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ θησαυροὺς χρυσοῦ πλείστους ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καταθέσθαι· καὶ τὸν Κύρον λέγεται ἑρέσθαι, Καὶ πόσα ἂν ἤδη οἶε μοι χρήματα εἶναι, εἰ συνέλεγον χρυσίον
- 16 ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις ἐξ ὅτου ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ εἰμί; καὶ τὸν Κροῖσον εἰπεῖν πολὺν τινα ἀριθμόν. καὶ τὸν Κύρον πρὸς ταῦτα, Ἄγε δὴ, φάναι, ὦ Κροῖσε, σύμπεμψον

ἄνδρα σὺν Ὑστάσπα τούτῳ ὅτῳ σὺ πιστεύεις μά-
 λιστα· σὺ δέ, ὦ Ὑστάσπα, ἔφη, περιελθὼν πρὸς
 τοὺς φίλους λέγε αὐτοῖς ὅτι δέομαι χρυσίου πρὸς
 πρᾶξιν τινα, καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι προσδέομαι, καὶ
 κέλευε αὐτοὺς ὅποσα ἂν ἕκαστος δύναιτο πορίσαι
 μοι χρήματα γράψαντας καὶ κατασημηναμένους
 δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Κροΐσου θεράποντι φέρειν.
 ταῦτα δὲ ὅσα ἔλεγε καὶ γράψας καὶ σημηνάμενος 17
 ἐδίδου τῷ Ὑστάσπα φέρειν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους·
 ἐνέγραψε δὲ πρὸς πάντας καὶ Ὑστάσπαν ὡς φίλον
 αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῆλθε καὶ ἤνεγκεν ὁ
 Κροΐσου θεράπων τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ὁ δὲ Ὑστάσπας
 εἶπεν, ὦ Κῦρε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἤδη χρή ὡς
 πλουσίῳ χρῆσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ ἔχων πάρεμι
 δῶρα διὰ τὰ σὰ γράμματα. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, 18
 Εἰς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ οὗτος ἤδη θησαυρὸς ἡμῶν, ὦ
 Κροῖσε· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταθεῶ καὶ λόγισαι
 πόσα ἐστὶν ἔτοιμα χρήματα, ἣν τι δέωμαι χρῆσθαι.
 λέγεται δὲ λογιζόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος πολλαπλάσια
 εὔρεῖν ἢ ἔφη Κῦρῳ ἂν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἤδη,
 εἰ συνέλεγεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο φανερόν ἐγένετο, εἰπεῖν 19
 λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος, Ὁρᾶς, φάναι, ὦ Κροῖσε, ὡς εἰσὶ
 καὶ ἐμοὶ θησαυροί; ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν κελεύεις με παρ'
 ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς συλλέγοντα φθονεῖσθαι τε δι' αὐτοὺς
 καὶ μισεῖσθαι, καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῖς ἐφιστάντα μι-
 σθοφόρους τούτοις πιστεύειν· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φίλους
 πλουσίους ποιῶν τούτους μοι νομίζω θησαυροὺς καὶ
 φύλακας ἅμα ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν
 πιστοτέρους εἶναι ἢ εἰ φρουροὺς μισθοφόρους ἐπε-
 στησάμην. καὶ ἄλλο δέ σοι ἐρῶ· ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ 20

Κροῖσε, ὃ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ δόντες εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς
 ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησαν ὁμοίως πάντας πένητας, τούτου
 μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς δύναμαι περυγενέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰμὶ
 21 ἄπληστος καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι χρημάτων· τῇδε
 γε μέντοι διαφέρειν μοι δοκῶ τῶν πλείστων ὅτι οἱ
 μὲν ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἀρκούντων περιττὰ κτήσωνται, τὰ
 μὲν αὐτῶν αὖ κατορύττουσι, τὰ δὲ κατασήπουσι,
 τὰ δὲ ἀριθμοῦντες καὶ μετροῦντες καὶ ἰστάντες καὶ
 διαψύχοντες καὶ φυλάττοντες πράγματα ἔχουσι,
 καὶ ὅμως, ἔνδον ἔχοντες τοσαῦτα, οὔτε ἐσθίουσι
 πλείω ἢ δύνανται φέρειν, διαρραγεῖεν γὰρ ἂν, οὔτ'
 ἀμφιέννυνται πλείω ἢ δύνανται φέρειν, ἀποπνι-
 γεῖεν γὰρ ἂν, ἀλλὰ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα πράγματα
 22 ἔχουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπηρετῶ μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ
 ὀρέγομαι αἰεὶ πλειόνων· ἐπειδὰν δὲ κτήσωμαι, ἃ ἂν
 ἴδω περιττὰ ὄντα τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀρκούντων τούτοις τάς
 τ' ἐνδείας τῶν φίλων ἐξακούμαι, καὶ πλουτίζων καὶ
 εὐεργετῶν ἀνθρώπους εὖνοϊαν ἐξ αὐτῶν κτῶμαι καὶ
 φιλίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων καρποῦμαι ἀσφάλειαν καὶ
 εὐκλειαν· ἃ οὔτε κατασήπεται οὔτε ὑπερπληροῦντα
 λυμαίνεται· ἀλλὰ ἡ εὐκλεία ὅσῃ ἂν πλείων ἢ
 τοσοῦτ' καὶ μείζων καὶ καλλίων καὶ κουφοτέρα
 φέρειν γίγνεται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας
 23 αὐτὴν κουφοτέρους παρέχεται. ὅπως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
 εἰδῆς, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐγὼ οὐ τοὺς πλείστα ἔχοντας
 καὶ φυλάττοντας πλείστα εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἡγοῦ-
 μαι· οἱ γὰρ τὰ τείχη φυλάττοντες οὕτω γ' ἂν
 εὐδαιμονέστατοι εἴησαν, πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐν ταῖς
 πόλεσι φυλάττουσιν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν κτᾶσθαι τε πλεῖ-
 στα δύνηται σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ, χρῆσθαι τε πλείστοις

σὺν τῷ καλῷ, τοῦτον ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονέστατον νομίζω
[καὶ τὰ χρήματα]. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ φανερὸς ἦν
ὥσπερ ἔλεγε καὶ πρῶτων.

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κατανοήσας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν 24
ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι, ἦν μὲν ὑγιαίνοντες διατελώσι,
παρασκευάζονται ὅπως ἔξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ
κατατίθενται τὰ χρήσιμα εἰς τὴν τῶν ὑγιαίνόντων
δίαιταν· ὅπως δέ, ἦν ἀσθενήσωσι, τὰ σύμφορα
παρέσται, τούτου οὐ πάνυ ἐπιμελουμένου ἐώρα·
ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκπονήσαι αὐτῷ, τοὺς τε
ἰατροὺς τοὺς ἀρίστους συνεκομίσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν
τῷ τελεῖν ἐθέλειν, καὶ ὅποσα ἢ ὄργανα χρήσιμα
ἔφη τις ἀν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἢ φάρμακα ἢ σῖτα ἢ
ποτά, οὐδὲν τούτων ὃ τι οὐχὶ παρασκευάσας
ἐθησαύριζε παρ' αὐτῷ. καὶ ὅποτε δέ τις ἀσθενή- 25
σει τῶν θεραπεύεσθαι ἐπικαιρίων, ἐπεσκόπει καὶ
παρεῖχε πάντα ὅτου ἔδει. καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς δὲ
χάριν ᾗδεν ὅποτε τις ἰάσαιτό τινα τοῖς παρ' ἐκεί-
νου λαμβάνων.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐμηχανᾶτο 26
πρὸς τὸ πρωτεύειν παρ' οἷς ἐβούλετο ἑαυτὸν φιλεῖ-
σθαι. ὣν δὲ προηγόρευέ τε ἀγῶνας καὶ ἀθλα προϋτί-
θει, φιλονικίας ἐμποιεῖν βουλόμενος περὶ τῶν καλῶν
καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔργων, ταῦτα μὲν τῷ Κύρῳ ἔπαινον πα-
ρεῖχεν, ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο ὅπως ἀσκοῖτο ἡ ἀρετή· τοῖς
μέντοι ἀρίστοις οἱ ἀγῶνες οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ
ἔριδας καὶ φιλονικίας ἐνέβαλλον. πρὸς δὲ τού- 27
τοις ὥσπερ νόμον κατεστήσατο ὁ Κύρος, ὅσα δια-
κρίσεως δέοιτο εἴτε δίκη εἴτε ἀγωνίσματι, τοὺς
δεομένους διακρίσεως συντρέχειν τοῖς κριταῖς. δῆ-

λον οὖν ὅτι ἐστοχάζοντο μὲν οἱ ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι
 τι ἀμφοτέροι τῶν κρατίστων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα
 φίλων κριτῶν· ὁ δὲ μὴ νικῶν τοῖς μὲν νικῶσιν
 ἐφθόνει τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἑαυτὸν κρίνοντας ἐμίσει· ὁ δ'
 αὐτὸς νικῶν τῷ δικαίῳ προσεποιεῖτο νικᾶν, ὥστε
 28 χάριν οὐδενὶ ἡγεῖτο ὀφείλειν. καὶ οἱ πρωτεύειν
 δὲ βουλόμενοι φιλίᾳ παρὰ Κύρῳ, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι ἐν
 πόλεσι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐπιφθόνως πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον·
 ὥσθ' οἱ πλείονες ἐκποδῶν ἐβούλυντο ὁ ἕτερος τὸν
 ἕτερον γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συνέπραξαν ἂν τι ἀλλή-
 λοις ἀγαθόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δεδήλωται, ὡς ἐμνηχα-
 νᾶτο τοὺς κρατίστους αὐτὸν μᾶλλον πάντας φιλεῖν
 ἢ ἀλλήλους.

III.

On the first occasion of his leaving the palace Cyrus
 goes in procession to sacrifice.

- 1 NTN δὲ ἤδη διηγησόμεθα ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐξήλασε
 Κύρος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐξε-
 λάσεως ἡ σεμνότης ἡμῖν δοκεῖ μία τῶν τεχνῶν
 εἶναι τῶν μεμνηχνημένων τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ εὐκατα-
 φρόνητον εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῆς ἐξελάσεως
 εἰσκαλέσας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας Περ-
 σῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [συμμάχων] διέδωκεν αὐτοῖς
 τὰς Μηδικὰς στολὰς· καὶ τότε πρῶτον Πέρσαι Μηδι-
 κὴν στολὴν ἐνεδύσαντο· διαδιδούς τε ἅμα τάδε
 ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἐλάσαι βούλοιτο εἰς τὰ τεμένη τὰ
 2 τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξηρημένα καὶ θῦσαι μετ' ἐκείνων. Πά-
 ρεστε οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας κοσμηθέντες ταῖς

στολαῖς ταύταις πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν καὶ καθίστασθε ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν Φεραύλας ὁ Πέρσης ἐξαγγεῖλῃ παρ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἐπειδάν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ἡγῶμαι, ἐπεσθε ἐν τῇ ῥηθείῃ χώρᾳ. ἦν δ' ἄρα τινὲ δοκῇ ὑμῶν ἄλλη κάλλιον εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἂν νῦν ἐλαύνωμεν, ἐπειδὰν πάλιν ἔλθωμεν, διδασκέτω με· ὅπῃ γὰρ ἂν κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον ὑμῖν δοκῇ εἶναι, ταύτῃ ἕκαστα δεῖ καταστήσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις διέ- 3 δωκε τὰς καλλίστας στολὰς, ἐξέφερε δὴ καὶ ἄλλας Μηδικὰς στολὰς, παμπόλλας γὰρ παρσκευάσατο, οὐδὲν φειδόμενος οὔτε πορφυρῶν οὔτ ὀρφνίνων οὔτε φοινικίδων οὔτε καρυκίνων ἱματίων· νεύμας δὲ τούτων τὸ μέρος ἑκάστω τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τούτοις κοσμεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους, ὥσπερ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς κοσμῶ. καὶ τις τῶν 4 παρόντων ἐπήρето αὐτόν, Σὺ δέ, ὦ Κῦρε, ἔφη, πότε κοσμήσῃ; ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Οὐ γὰρ νῦν, ἔφη, δοκῶ ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς κοσμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς κοσμῶν; ἀμέλει, ἔφη, ἦν δύνωμαι ὑμᾶς τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅποιαν ἂν ἔχων τυγχάνω στολὴν ἐν ταύτῃ καλὸς φανοῦμαι. οὕτω δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀπελθόντες μεταπεμπόμενοι τοὺς 5 φίλους ἐκόσμουν ταῖς στολαῖς. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος νομίζων Φεραύλαν τὸν ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ συνετὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ εὐτακτον καὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀμελῇ, ὅς ποτε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν συνεῖπε, τοῦτον δὴ καλέσας συνεβουλεύετο αὐτῷ πῶς ἂν τοῖς μὲν εὖνοις κάλλιστα ἰδεῖν ποιοῖτο τὴν ἐξέλασιν τοῖς δὲ δυσμενέσι φοβερῶτατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοποῦντοιν ταῦτὰ συνεδόξεν, 6 ἐκέλευσε τὸν Φεραύλαν ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἂν

οὕτω γένηται αὖριον ἢ ἐξέλασις ὥσπερ ἔδοξε καλῶς ἔχειν. Εἴρηκα δέ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ πάντα πείθεσθαι σοι περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐξέλασει τάξεως· ὅπως δ' ἂν ἡδίων παραγγέλλοντός σου ἀκούωσι, φέρε λαβών, ἔφη, χιτῶνας μὲν τουτουσὶ τοῖς τῶν δορυφόρων ἡγεμόσι, κασᾶς δὲ τούσδε τοὺς ἐφιππίους τοῖς τῶν ἱππέων ἡγεμόσι δός, καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἄλλους 7 τούσδε χιτῶνας. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔφερε λαβών· οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ἐπεὶ ἴδοιεν αὐτόν, ἔλεγον, Μέγας δὴ σύγε, ὦ Φεραύλα, ὅποτε γε καὶ ἡμῖν τάξεις ἃ ἂν δέῃ ποιεῖν. Οὐ μὰ Δῖ, ἔφη ὁ Φεραύλας, οὐ μόνον γε, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκευοφορήσω· νῦν γοῦν φέρω τώδε δύο κασᾶ, τὸν μὲν σοί, τὸν δὲ ἄλλῳ· σὺ μέντοι 8 τούτων λαβὲ ὁπότερον βούλει. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ μὲν λαμβάνων τὸν κασᾶν τοῦ μὲν φθόνου ἐπελέληστο, εὐθύς δὲ συνεβουλευέτο αὐτῷ ὁπότερον λαμβάνοι· ὁ δὲ συμβουλεύσας ἂν ὁπότερος βελτίων εἴη καὶ εἰπών, Ἦν μου κατηγορήσης ὅτι αἵρεσίην σοι ἔδωκα, εἰς αὐθις ὅταν διακονῶ, ἐτέρῳ μοι χρήσῃ διακόνῳ, ὁ μὲν δὴ Φεραύλας οὕτω διαδοὺς ἢ ἐτάχθη εὐθύς ἐπεμέλετο τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐξέλασιν ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα 9 ἑκαστα ἕξοι. ἡνίκα δ' ἡ ὕστεραία ἦκε, καθαρὰ μὲν ἦν παντα πρὸ ἡμέρας, στίχοι δὲ εἰσθήκεσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἴστανται ἢ ἂν βασιλεὺς μέλλῃ ἐλαύνειν· ὧν ἐντὸς οὐδενὶ ἐστὶν εἰσιέναι τῶν μὴ τετιμημένων· μαστιγοφόροι δὲ καθέστασαν, οἱ ἔπαιον εἴ τις ἐνοχλοίῃ. ἔστασαν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πυλῶν εἰς τέτταρας, δισχιλίοι δὲ 10 ἑκατέρωθεν τῶν πυλῶν. καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ πάντες

παρήσαν καταβεβηκότες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ διειρ-
 κότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν
 ἔτι διείρουνσιν ὅταν ὀρᾷ βασιλεύς. ἔστασαν δὲ
 Πέρσαι μὲν ἐκ δεξιᾶς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι ἐξ
 ἀριστερᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ὡσαύτως τὰ
 ἡμίσεα ἐκατέρωθεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεπετάννυντο αἱ τοῦ 11
 βασιλείου πύλαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἤγοντο τῷ Διὶ ταῦροι
 πάγκαλοι εἰς τέσσαρας, καὶ οἷς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ
 μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο· πολλὸν γὰρ οἶονται Πέρσαι χρῆναι
 τοῖς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μᾶλλον τεχνίταις χρῆσθαι ἢ
 περὶ τᾶλλα. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς βούς ἵπποι ἤγοντο, θῦμα 12
 τῷ Ἡλίῳ· μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐξήγετο ἄρμα λευκόν,
 χρυσόζυγον, ἐστεμμένον, Διὸς ἱερόν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο
 Ἡλίου ἄρμα λευκόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐστεμμένον ὥσπερ
 τὸ πρόσθεν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλο τρίτον ἄρμα ἐξή-
 γετο, φοινικίσι καταπεπταμένοι οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ πῦρ
 ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἄνδρες εἶποντο
 φέροντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἤδη αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν 13
 προῦφαίνετο ὁ Κῦρος ἐφ' ἄρματος, ὀρθὴν ἔχων τὴν
 τιάραν, καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν μεσόλευκον ἄλλω
 δ' οὐκ ἔξεστι μεσόλευκον ἔχειν, καὶ περὶ τοῖς
 σκέλεσιν ἀναξυρίδας ὑσγινοβαφεῖς, καὶ κἀνδυν
 ὀλοπόρφυρον. εἶχε δὲ καὶ διάδημα περὶ τῇ τιάρᾳ·
 καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο σημεῖον
 εἶχον, καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔχουσι. τὰς δὲ χεῖρας 14
 ἔξω τῶν χειρῶν εἶχε· παρωχεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ ἡνίοχος
 μέγας μὲν, μείων δ' ἐκείνου εἴτε καὶ τῷ ὄντι εἴτε
 καὶ ὁπωσοῦν· μείζων δὲ ἐφάνη πολὺ Κῦρος. ἰδόντες
 δὲ πάντες προσεκύνησαν, εἴτε καὶ ἄρξαι τινὲς κεκε-
 λευσμένοι εἴτε καὶ ἐκπλαγέντες τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ

- τῷ δόξαι μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν φανῆναι τὸν Κῦρον.
 15 πρόσθεν δὲ Περσῶν οὐδείς Κῦρον προσεκύνει. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ προῆει τὸ τοῦ Κύρου ἄρμα, προηγούντο μὲν οἱ
 τετρακισχίλιοι δορυφόροι, παρείποντο δὲ οἱ δισχι-
 λιοὶ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἄρματος· ἐφείποντο δὲ οἱ περὶ
 αὐτὸν σκηπτοῦχοι ἐφ' ἵππων κεκοσμημένοι σὺν
 16 τοῖς παλτοῖς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους. οἱ δ' αὖ τῷ
 Κύρῳ τρεφόμενοι ἵπποι παρήγοντο χρυσοχάλινοι,
 ῥαβδωτοῖς ἱματίοις καταπεπταμένοι, ἀμφὶ τοὺς
 διακοσίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις δισχίλιοι ξυστοφόροι·
 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἵππεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι μύριοι,
 εἰς ἑκατὸν πανταχῇ τεταγμένοι· ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν
 17 Χρυσάντας. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις μύριοι ἄλλοι Περσῶν
 ἵππεῖς τεταγμένοι ὡσαύτως, ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ὑστά-
 σπας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἄλλοι μύριοι ὡσαύτως, ἡγεῖτο
 δὲ αὐτῶν Δατάμας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἄλλοι, ἡγεῖτο δ'
 18 αὐτῶν Γαδάτας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Μῆδοι ἵππεῖς, ἐπὶ
 δὲ τούτοις Ἀρμένιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ὑρκάνιοι,
 μετὰ δὲ τούτους Καδούσιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Σάκαι·
 μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἱππέας ἄρματα ἐπὶ τεττάρων τεταγ-
 μένα, ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀρταβάτας Πέρσης.
 19 πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ παρείποντο πάμπολλοι
 ἄνθρωποι ἔξω τῶν σημείων, δεόμενοι Κύρου ἄλλος
 ἄλλης πράξεως. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν
 σκηπτούχων τινάς, οἱ παρείποντο αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἑκατέ-
 ρωθεν τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα τοῦ διαγγέ-
 λειν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τίς τι αὐτοῦ δέοιτο,
 διδάσκειν τῶν ἱππάρχων τινὰ ὃ τι τις βούλοιτο,
 ἐκείνους δ' ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ
 ἀπρίοντες εὐθὺς κατὰ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ

ἐβουλευόντο τίνι ἕκαστος προσίοι. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος 20
 οὕς ἐβούλετο μάλιστα θεραπεύεσθαι τῶν φίλων
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τούτους πέμπων τινὰ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἐκάλει καθ' ἕκαστον, καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Ἦν
 τις ὑμᾶς διδάσκει τι τούτων τῶν παρεπομένων, ὃς
 μὲν ἂν μηδὲν δοκῇ ὑμῖν λέγειν, μὴ προσέχετε αὐτῷ
 τὸν νοῦν· ὃς δ' ἂν δικαίων δεῖσθαι δοκῇ, εἰσαγγέλ-
 λετε πρὸς ἐμέ, ἵνα κοινῇ βουλευόμενοι διαπράττωμεν
 αὐτοῖς. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι, ἐπεὶ καλέσειεν, ἀνὰ κράτος 21
 ἐλαύνοντες ὑπήκουον, συναύξοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ
 Κύρῳ, καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὅτι σφόδρα πείθοντο·
 Δαϊφέρνης δέ τις ἦν, σολοικότερος ἄνθρωπος τῷ
 τρόπῳ, ὃς ᾔετο εἰ μὴ ταχὺ ὑπακούοι ἐλευθερώ-
 τερος ἂν φαίνεσθαι αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Κῦρος 22
 τοῦτο, πρὶν προσελθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διαλεχθῆναι
 αὐτῷ, ὑποπέμψας τινὰ τῶν σκηπτούχων εἰπεῖν
 ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι δέοιτο· καὶ
 τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐκάλει. ὥς δ' ὁ ὕστερον κληθεὶς αὐτοῦ 23
 πρότερος αὐτῷ προσήλασε, ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἵππον
 αὐτῷ ἔδωκε τῶν παρεπομένων καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῶν
 σκηπτούχων τινὰ συναπαγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ὅπου κε-
 λεύσειε. τοῖς δὲ ἰδοῦσιν ἔντιμόν τι τοῦτο ἔδοξεν
 εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ πλείονες ἐκ τούτου αὐτὸν ἐθερά-
 πειον ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὰ τεμένη, 24
 ἔθυσαν τῷ Διὶ καὶ ὠλοκαύτησαν τοὺς ταύρους·
 ἔπειτα τῷ Ἡλίῳ καὶ ὠλοκαύτησαν τοὺς ἵππους·
 ἔπειτα Γῇ σφάζαντες ὥς ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ μάγοι ἐποίη-
 σαν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἤρωσι τοῖς Συρίαν ἔχουσι.

The sacrifice is followed by horse-races. Victory of a Sacan : his introduction to Pheraulas.

- 25 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου ἔδειξε
 τέρμα ὥς ἐπὶ πέντε σταδίων χωρίου, καὶ εἶπε κατὰ
 φύλα ἀνὰ κράτος ἐνταῦθα ἀφείναι τοὺς ἵππους. σὺν
 μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πέρσαις αὐτὸς ἤλασε καὶ ἐνίκα πολὺ·
 μάλιστα γὰρ ἐμεμελήκει αὐτῷ ἱππικῆς· Μήδων δὲ
 Ἀρτάβαζος ἐνίκα· Κύρος γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον ἐδε-
 δώκει· Σύρων δὲ τῶν ἀποστάντων Γαδάτας, Ἀρμε-
 νίων δὲ Τιγράνης, Ὑρκανίων δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἱππάρχου,
 Σακῶν δὲ ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ· ἀπέλιπεν ἄρα τῷ ἵππῳ τοὺς
 26 ἄλλους ἵππους ἐγγὺς τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ δρόμου. ἔνθα
 δὴ λέγεται ὁ Κύρος ἐρέσθαι τὸν νεανίσκον εἰ δέξαιτ'
 ἂν βασιλείαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἵππου. τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι
 ὅτι Βασιλείαν μὲν οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμην, χάριν δὲ ἀνδρὶ
 27 ἀγαθῷ καταθέσθαι δεξαίμην ἄν. καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε,
 Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ δεῖξαι σοι ἐθέλω ἔνθα, κἂν μύων βάλῃς,
 οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ. Πάντως τοίνυν,
 ὁ Σάκας ἔφη, δεῖξόν μοι· ὥς βαλῶ γε ταύτῃ τῇ βώ-
 28 λῳ, ἔφη ἀνελόμενος. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κύρος δείκνυσιν
 αὐτῷ ὅπου ἦσαν πλείστοι τῶν φίλων· ὁ δὲ κατα-
 μύων ἵησι τῇ βώλῳ, καὶ παρελαύνοντος Φεραύλα
 τυγχάνει· ἔτυχε γὰρ ὁ Φεραύλας παραγγέλλων τι
 τακτὸς παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου· βληθεὶς δὲ οὐδε μετε-
 29 στράφη, ἀλλ' ὥχετο ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐτάχθη. ἀναβλέψας
 δὲ ὁ Σάκας ἐρωτᾷ τίνος ἔτυχεν. Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί',
 ἔφη, οὐδενὸς τῶν παρόντων. Ἀλλ' οὐ μέντοι, ἔφη
 ὁ νεανίσκος, τῶν γε ἀπόντων. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ
 Κύρος, σύ γε ἐκείνου τοῦ παρὰ τὰ ἄρματα ταχὺ

ἐλαύνοντος τὸν ἵππον. Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οὐ μετα- 30
στρέφεται; καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη, Μαινόμενος γάρ τίς
ἐστίν, ὡς ἔοικεν. ἀκούσας ὁ νεανίσκος ὄχχετο
σκεψόμενος τίς εἴη· καὶ εὐρίσκει τὸν Φεραύλαν
γῆς τε κατάπλεων τὸ γένειον καὶ αἵματος· ἐρρῦη
γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς ῥινὸς βληθέντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσ- 31
ῆλθεν ἤρετο αὐτὸν εἰ βληθείη. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο,
Ὡς ὀρᾷς. Δίδωμι τολύυ σοι, ἔφη, τοῦτον τὸν ἵππον.
ὁ δ' ἐπήρετο, Ἀντὶ τοῦ; ἐκ τούτου δὴ διηγείτο ὁ
Σάκας τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τέλος εἶπε, Καὶ οἷμαί γε οὐχ
ἡμαρτηκέναι ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ. καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας 32
εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ πλουσιωτέρῳ μὲν ἄν, εἰ ἐσωφρόνεις, ἢ
ἐμοί, ἐδίδους· νῦν δὲ κἀγὼ δέξομαι. ἐπεύχομαι δέ,
ἔφη, τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅπερ με ἐποίησαν βληθῆναι ὑπὸ
σοῦ, δοῦναί μοι ποιῆσαι μὴ μεταμέλειν σοι τῆς
ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς. καὶ νῦν μὲν, ἔφη, ἀπέλα, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ
τὸν ἐμὸν ἵππον· αὐθις δὲ ἐγὼ παρέσομαι πρὸς σέ.

οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω διηλλάξαντο. Καδουσίων δὲ
ἐνίκα Ῥαθονίκης. ἀφίει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄρματα καθ' 33
ἕκαστον· τοῖς δὲ νικῶσι πᾶσιν ἐδίδου βούς τε ὅπως
ἂν θύσαντες ἐστιῶντο καὶ ἐκπώματα. τὸν μὲν
οὖν βοῦν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ νικητήριον· τῶν δὲ
ἐκπωμάτων τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος Φεραύλα ἔδωκεν, ὅτι
καλῶς ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου ἔλασιν
διατάξαι. οὕτω δὴ ἢ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου καταστα- 34
θεῖσα ἔλασις οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει ἡ βασιλέως
ἔλασις, πλὴν τὰ ἱερὰ ἄπεστιν, ὅταν μὴ θύῃ.

Return to the city. Pheraulas makes over his possessions to the Sacan and becomes his pensioner.

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα τέλος εἶχεν, ἀφικνουῦνται πάλιν
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν, οἷς μὲν ἐδόθησαν
 35 οἰκίαι, κατ' οἰκίας, οἷς δὲ μή, ἐν τάξει. καλέσας
 δὲ καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας τὸν Σάκαν τὸν δόντα τὸν
 ἵππον ἐξένιξε, καὶ τὰλλὰ τε παρεῖχεν ἑκπλεω,
 καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, τὰ ἐκπώματα αὐτῷ,
 ἃ ἔλαβε παρὰ Κύρου, ἐμπιμπλὰς προὔπινε
 36 καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο. καὶ ὁ Σάκας ὁρῶν πολλὴν μὲν καὶ
 καλὴν στρωμνὴν, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ καλὴν κατα-
 σκευήν, καὶ οἰκέτας δὲ πολλούς, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη,
 37 ὦ Φεραύλα, ἥ καὶ οἶκοι τῶν πλουσίων ἦσθα; καὶ
 ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπε, Ποίων πλουσίων; τῶν μὲν οὖν
 σαφῶς ἀποχειροβιώτων. ἐμὲ γάρ τοι ὁ πατήρ
 τὴν μὲν τῶν παίδων παιδείαν γλίσχρως αὐτὸς
 ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τρέφων ἐπαίδευεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μειράκιον
 ἐγενόμην, οὐ δυνάμενος τρέφειν ἀργὸν εἰς ἀγρὸν
 38 ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἐργάζεσθαι. ἔνθα δὴ ἐγὼ
 ἀντέτρεφον ἐκείνον, ἕως ἔζη, αὐτὸς σκάπτων καὶ
 σπείρων καὶ μάλα μικρὸν γῆδιον, οὐ μέντοι πονηρόν
 γε, ἀλλὰ πάντων δικαιοτάτον· ὃ τι γὰρ λάβοι
 σπέρμα καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀπεδίδου αὐτό τε καὶ
 τόκον οὐδὲν τι πολύν· ἥδη δὲ ποτε ὑπὸ γενναϊό-
 τητος καὶ διπλάσια ἀπέδωκεν ὧν ἔλαβεν. οἶκοι
 μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔγωγε ἔζων· νῦν δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἃ
 39 ὁρᾷς Κῦρός μοι ἔδωκε. καὶ ὁ Σάκας εἶπεν, ὦ
 μακάριε σὺ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐκ
 πένητος πλούσιος γεγένησαι· πολὺ γὰρ οἶμαί σε

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡδίων πλουτεῖν ὅτι πεινήσας χρη-
μάτων πεπλούτηκας. καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν, Ἦ 40
γὰρ οὕτως, ὦ Σάκα, ὑπολαμβάνεις ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν το-
σοῦτω ἡδίων ζῶ ὅσῳ πλείω κέκτημαι; οὐκ οἶσθα,
ἔφη, ὅτι ἐσθίω μὲν καὶ πίνω καὶ καθεύδω οὐδ' ὅτι-
οὖν νῦν ἡδίων ἢ τότε ὅτε πένης ἦν. ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα
πολλὰ ἐστὶ, τοσοῦτον κερδαίνω· πλείω μὲν φυλάτ-
τειν δεῖ, πλείω δὲ ἄλλοις διανέμειν, πλείονα δὲ
ἐπιμελόμενον πράγματα ἔχειν. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἐμὲ 41
πολλοὶ μὲν οἰκέται σίτον αἰτοῦσι, πολλοὶ δὲ πιεῖν,
πολλοὶ δὲ ἱμάτια· οἱ δὲ ἰατρῶν δέονται· ἡκεὶ δέ τις
ἢ τῶν προβάτων λελυκωμένα φέρων ἢ τῶν βοῶν
κατακεκρημνισμένα ἢ νόσον φάσκων ἐμπεπτωκέναι
τοῖς κτήνεσιν· ὥστε μοι δοκῶ, ἔφη ὁ Φεραύλας,
νῦν διὰ τὸ πολλά ἔχειν πλείω λυπεῖσθαι ἢ πρό-
σθεν διὰ τὸ ὀλίγα ἔχειν. καὶ ὁ Σάκας, Ἄλλὰ ναὶ 42
μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὅταν σῶα ᾖ, πολλὰ ὁρῶν πολλαπλάσια
ἐμοῦ εὐφραίνῃ. καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν, Οὔτοι, ὦ
Σάκα, ἡδὺ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔχειν χρήματα ὡς ἀνιαρὸν τὸ
ἀποβάλλειν. γνώσῃ δ' ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω· τῶν
μὲν γὰρ πλουτούντων οὐδεὶς ἀναγκάζεται ὑφ' ἡδονῆς
ἀγρυπνεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀποβαλλόντων τι ὄψει οὐδένα
δυνάμενον καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης. Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ 43
Σάκας, οὐδέ γε τῶν λαμβανόντων τι νυστάζοντα
οὐδένα ἂν ἴδοις ὑφ' ἡδονῆς. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, λέγεις· 44
εἰ γὰρ τοι τὸ ἔχειν οὕτως ὥσπερ τὸ λαμβάνειν
ἡδὺ ἦν, πολὺ ἂν διέφερον εὐδαιμονία οἱ πλούσιοι
τῶν πενήτων. καὶ ἀνάγκη δέ τοί ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὦ
Σάκα, τὸν πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλὰ καὶ δαπανᾶν καὶ
εἰς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς φίλους καὶ εἰς ξένους· ὅστις οὖν

ἰσχυρῶς χρήμασιν ἥδεται, εὖ ἴσθι, τοῦτον καὶ
 45 δαπανῶντα ἰσχυρῶς ἀνιᾶσθαι. Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ
 Σάκας. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτων εἰμί, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐ-
 δαιμονίαν τοῦτο νομίζω τὸ πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλὰ
 46 καὶ δαπανᾶν. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Φε-
 ραύλας, οὐχὶ σύ γε αὐτίκα μάλα εὐδαίμων ἐγένου,
 καὶ ἐμὲ εὐδαίμονα ἐποίησας; λαβὼν γάρ, ἔφη,
 ταῦτα πάντα κέκτησο καὶ χρῶ ὅπως βούλει
 αὐτοῖς· ἐμὲ δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ ξένον τρέφε,
 καὶ ἔτι εὐτελέστερον ἢ ξένον· ἀρκέσει γάρ μοι ὃ τι
 47 ἂν καὶ σὺ ἔχῃς τούτων μετέχειν. Παίξεις, ἔφη ὁ
 Σάκας. καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας ὁμόσας εἶπεν ἡ μὴν
 σπουδῇ λέγειν. Καὶ ἄλλα γέ σοι, ὦ Σάκα, προσ-
 διαπράξομαι παρὰ Κύρου, μήτε θύρας τὰς Κύρου
 θεραπεύειν, μήτε στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν
 πλουτῶν οἴκοι μένε· ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσω καὶ
 ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. καὶ ἐάν τι ἀγαθὸν προσ-
 λαμβάνω διὰ τὴν Κύρου θεραπείαν ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ
 στρατείας τινός, οἶσω πρὸς σέ, ἵνα ἔτι πλειόνων
 ἄρχῃς· μόνον, ἔφη, ἐμὲ ἀπόλυσον ταύτης τῆς ἐπι-
 μελείας· ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ σχολὴν ἄγω ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐμοί
 τέ σε οἶμαι πολλὰ καὶ Κύρῳ χρήσιμον ἔσεσθαι.
 48 τούτων οὕτω ῥηθέντων ταῦτα συνέθεντο καὶ ταῦτα
 ἐποιοῦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἠγεῖτο εὐδαίμων γεγενῆσθαι ὅτι
 πολλῶν ἦρχε χρημάτων· ὁ δ' αὖ ἐνόμιζε μακαριώ-
 τατος εἶναι ὅτι ἐπίτροπον ἔξοι σχολὴν παρέχοντα
 49 πράττειν ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῷ ἡδὺν ᾗ. ἦν δὲ τοῦ Φεραύλα
 ὁ τρόπος φιλέταιρός τε καὶ θεραπεύειν οὐδὲν ἡδὺν
 αὐτῷ οὕτως ἐδόκει εἶναι οὐδ' ὠφέλιμον ὥς ἀνθρώ-
 πους. καὶ γὰρ βέλτιστον πάντων τῶν ζώων

ἡγεῖτο ἄνθρωπον εἶναι καὶ εὐχαριστότατον, ὅτι
 εὖρα τοὺς τε ἐπαινουμένους ὑπὸ τινος ἀντεπαι-
 νοῦντας τούτους προθύμως τοῖς τε χαριζομένοις
 πειρωμένους ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι, καὶ οὓς γνοῖεν εὐ-
 νοϊκῶς ἔχοντας, τούτοις ἀντεννοοῦντας, καὶ οὓς εἰ-
 δεῖν φιλοῦντας αὐτούς, τούτους μισεῖν οὐ δυναμέ-
 νους, καὶ γονέας δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀντιθεραπεύειν
 πάντων τῶν ζώων ἐθέλοντας καὶ ζῶντας καὶ τελευ-
 τήσαντας· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα ζῶα καὶ ἀχαριστότερα
 καὶ ἀγνωμονέστερα ἀνθρώπων ἐγύγνωσκεν εἶναι.
 οὕτω δὴ ὁ τε Φεραύλας ὑπερήδετο ὅτι ἐξέσοιτο αὐτῷ 50
 ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἐπιμελείας
 ἀμφὶ τοὺς φίλους ἔχειν, ὁ τε Σάκας ὅτι ἐμελλε πολλὰ
 ἔχων πολλοῖς χρήσεσθαι. ἐφίλει δὲ ὁ μὲν Σάκας
 τὸν Φεραύλαν, ὅτι προσέφερε τι αἰεὶ· ὁ δὲ τὸν Σάκαν,
 ὅτι παραλαμβάνειν πάντα ἤθελε καὶ αἰεὶ πλειόνων
 ἐπιμελούμενος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον αὐτῷ ἀσχολίας παρ-
 εῖχε. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διῆγον.

IV.

Banquet of Cyrus and his friends. Betrothal of
 Hystaspas to the daughter of Gobryas.

ΘΤΣΑΣ, δὲ καὶ ὁ Κῦρος νικητήρια ἐστιῶν ἐκάλεσε 1
 τῶν φίλων οἱ μάλιστ' αὐτὸν αὖξιν τε βουλόμε-
 νοι φανεροὶ ἦσαν καὶ τιμῶντες εὐνοϊκώτατα. συν-
 ἐκάλεσε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Μῆδον καὶ
 Τυγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον καὶ τὸν Ἑρκάνιον ἱπ-
 παρχον καὶ Γωβρύαν. Γαδάτας δὲ τῶν σκηπτού- 2
 χων ἦρχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἡ ἐκεῖνος διεκόσμησεν ἡ πᾶσα

ξυδον δίαίτα καθειστήκει· καὶ ὁπότε μὲν συνδει-
 πνοῖέν τινες, οὐδ' ἐκάθιζε Γαδάτας, ἀλλ' ἐπεμέλετο·
 ὁπότε δὲ αὐτοὶ εἶεν, καὶ συνεδείπνει· ἦδετο γὰρ
 αὐτῷ συνών· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις
 ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου, διὰ δὲ Κύρον καὶ ὑπ'
 3 ἄλλων. ὥς δ' ἦλθον οἱ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον,
 οὐχ ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστον ἐκάθιζεν, ἀλλ' ὃν μὲν
 μάλιστα ἐτίμα παρὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα, ὥς
 εὐεπιβουλευτοτέρας ταύτης οὔσης ἢ τῆς δεξιᾶς·
 τὸν δὲ δεύτερον παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον πάλιν
 παρὰ τὴν ἀριστεράν, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον παρὰ τὴν
 4 δεξιάν· καὶ ἦν πλείονες ὦσιν, ὡσαύτως. σαφηνί-
 ζεσθαι δὲ ὥς ἕκαστον ἐτίμα, τοῦτο ἐδόκει αὐτῷ
 ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· ὅτι ὅπου μὲν οἴονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 τὸν κρατιστεύοντα μήτε κηρυχθήσεσθαι μήτε
 ἄθλα λήψεσθαι, δῆλοί εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα οὐ φιλονίκως
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες· ὅπου δὲ μάλιστα πλεονεκ-
 τῶν ὁ κράτιστος φαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα προθυμότατα
 5 φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πάντες. καὶ ὁ Κύρος
 δὲ οὕτως ἐσαφηνίζε μὲν τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας παρ'
 ἑαυτῷ, εὐθὺς ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἔδρας καὶ παραστάσεως.
 οὐ μέντοι ἀθάνατον τὴν ταχθεῖσαν ἔδραν κατεστή-
 σατο, ἀλλὰ νόμιμον ἐποίησατο καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις
 προβῆναι εἰς τὴν τιμιωτάτην ἔδραν, καὶ εἴ τις
 ῥαδιουργοίῃ ἀναχωρήσαι εἰς τὴν ἀτιμοτέραν. τὸν
 δὲ πρωτεύοντα ἐν ἔδρᾳ ἡσχύνετο μὴ οὐ πλείστα
 καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι. καὶ
 ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ Κύρου γενόμενα οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν
 διαμένοντα αἰσθανόμεθα.

6 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνουν, ἐδόκει τῷ Γωβρύᾳ τὸ μὲν

πολλὰ ἕκαστα εἶναι οὐδέν τι θαυμαστὸν παρ' ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἄρχοντι· τὸ δὲ τὸν Κῦρον οὕτω μεγάλα πράττοντα, εἴ τι ἡδὺ δόξειε λαβεῖν, μὴδὲν τούτων μόνον καταδαπανᾶν, ἀλλὰ ἔργον ἔχειν δεόμενον τούτου κοινωνεῖν τοὺς παρόντας. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων ἐστὶν οἷς ἑώρα πέμποντα ταῦτα αὐτὸν οἷς ἡσθεὶς τύχοι· ὥστε ἐπεὶ ἔδεδει- 7 πνήκεσαν, καὶ τὰ πάντα πολλὰ ὄντα διαπεπόμφει ὁ Κῦρος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης. εἶπεν ἄρα ὁ Γωβρύας, 'Αλλ' ἐγώ, ὦ Κῦρε, πρόσθεν μὲν ἡγούμεν τούτῳ σε πλεῖστον διαφέρειν ἀνθρώπων τῷ στρατηγικώτατον εἶναι· νῦν δὲ θεοὺς ὁμνυμι ἢ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πλεον σε διαφέρειν φιλανθρωπία ἢ στρατηγία. Νῆ Δι', 8 ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐπιδείκνυμαι τὰ ἔργα πολὺ ἥδιον φιλανθρωπίας ἢ στρατηγίας. Πῶς δῆ; ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας. Ὅτι, ἔφη, τὰ μὲν κακῶς ποιοῦντα ἀνθρώπους δεῖ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, τὰ δὲ εὖ. ἐκ τούτου 9 δὴ ἐπεὶ ὑπέκρινον, ἤρετο ὁ Ὑστάσπας τὸν Κῦρον, 'Αρ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἀχθεσθείης μοι, εἴ σε ἐροίμην ὃ βούλομαί σου πυθέσθαι; 'Αλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, τούναντίον τούτου ἀχθοίμην ἂν σοι, εἰ αἰσθοίμην σιωπῶντα ἃ βούλοιο ἐρέσθαι. Λέγε δῆ μοι, ἔφη, ἥδη πῶποτε καλέσαντός σου οὐκ ἦλθον; Εὐφήμει, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. 'Αλλ' ὑπακούων σχολῇ ὑπήκουσα; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο. Προσταχθὲν δέ τι ἥδη σοι οὐκ ἔπραξα; Οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι, ἔφη. Ὁ δὲ πράττοιμι, ἐστὶν ὃ τι πῶποτε οὐ προθύμως ἢ οὐχ ἡδομένως πράττοντά με κατέγνωσ; Τοῦτο δὴ πάντων ἥκιστα, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Τίνος μὴν ἕνεκα, 10 ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Κῦρε, Χρυσάνταν ἔγραψας

- ὥστε εἰς τὴν τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ χώραν ἰδρυθῆναι; Ἡ λέγω; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Πάντως, ἔφη ὁ Ὑστάσπας. Καὶ σὺ αὖ οὐκ ἀχθεσθήσῃ μοι ἀκούων τάληθῃ;
- 11 Ἐσθήσομαι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἣν εἰδῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀδικοῦμαι. Χρυσάντας τοίνυν, ἔφη, οὗτοσὶ πρῶτος μὲν οὐ κλῆσιν ἀνέμενεν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν καλεῖσθαι παρῆν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἕνεκα· ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ τὸ κελευόμενον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃ τι αὐτὸς γινώσκῃ ἀμεινὸν εἶναι πεπραγμένον ἡμῖν, τοῦτο ἔπραττεν. ὁπότε δ' εἰπεῖν τι δέοι εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους, ἃ μὲν ἐμὲ ᾤετο πρέπειν λέγειν ἐμοὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἃ δὲ ἐμὲ αἰσθοίτο βουλόμενον μὲν εἰδέναι τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτὸν δὲ με αἰσχυρόμενον περὶ ἐμαντοῦ λέγειν, ταῦτα οὗτος λέγων ὥς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο· ὥστ' ἔν γε τούτοις τί κωλύει αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμοῦ ἐμοὶ κρείττονα εἶναι; καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν αἰεί φησι πάντα τὰ παρόντα ἀρκεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ αἰεὶ φανερός ἐστι σκοπῶν τί ἂν προσγενόμενον ὀνήσειεν· ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἐμοῖς καλοῖς πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ ἀγάλλεται καὶ
- 12 ἥδεται. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὑστάσπας εἶπε, Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, ὦ Κύρε, ἡδομαί γε ταῦτά σε ἐρωτήσας. Τί μάλιστα; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Ὅτι καὶ γὰρ πειράσομαι ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐν μόνον, ἔφη, ἀγνοῶ, πῶς ἂν εἶην δῆλος χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· πότερον κροτεῖν δεῖ τῷ χεῖρι, ἢ γελᾶν, ἢ τί ποιεῖν. καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος εἶπεν· Ὅρχεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ Περσικόν.
- 13 ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Γωβρύαν ἐπήρετο, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Γωβρύα, νῦν ἂν δοκεῖς ἡδίων τῶνδ' ἐγὼ τὴν θυγατέρα δοῦναι ἢ ὅτε τὸ πρῶ-

τον ἡμῖν συνεχένου; Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, καὶ γὰρ τὰληθῆ λέγω; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὥς ψεύδους γε οὐδεμία ἐρώτησις δέεται. Εὐ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἴσθι ὅτι νῦν ἂν πολὺ ἥδιον. Ἦ καὶ ἔχοις ἄν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰπεῖν διότι; Ἐγώ γε. Λέγε δῆ. Ὅτι τότε μὲν ἐώρων τοὺς πόνους καὶ 14 τοὺς κινδύνους εὐθύμως αὐτοὺς φέροντας, νῦν δὲ ὀρῶ αὐτοὺς τῶγαθὰ σωφρόνως φέροντας. δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ὦ Κῦρε, χαλεπώτερον εἶναι εὐρεῖν ἄνδρα τῶγαθὰ καλῶς φέροντα ἢ τὰ κακά· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβριν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τὰ δὲ σωφροσύνην τοῖς πᾶσι ἐμποιεῖ. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἦκουσας, ὦ Ἵστα- 15 σπα, Γωβρύου τὸ ῥῆμα; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη· καὶ ἔαν πολλά τοιαῦτά γε λέγῃ, πολὺ μᾶλλον με τῆς θυγατρὸς μνηστῆρα λήψεται ἢ ἔαν ἐκπώματα πολλά μοι ἐπιδεικνύῃ. Ἦ μήν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, 16 πολλά γέ μοι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα συγγεγραμμένα, ὧν ἐγὼ σοι οὐ φθονήσω, ἣν τὴν θυγατέρα μου γυναικα λαμβάνῃς· τὰ δ' ἐκπώματα, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαί μοι φαίνει, οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ Χρυσάντα τούτῳ δῶ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἑδραν σου ὑφῆρπασε. Καὶ μὲν δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὦ Ἵστασπα, καὶ οἱ 17 ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ παρόντες, ἣν ἐμοὶ λέγητε ὅταν τις ὑμῶν γαμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσῃ, γνώσεσθε ὁποῖός τις καὶ γὰρ συνεργὸς ὑμῖν ἔσομαι. καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν, Ἦν 18 δέ τις ἐκδοῦναι βούληται θυγατέρα, πρὸς τίνα δεῖ λέγειν; Πρὸς ἐμέ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ τοῦτο· πάνν γάρ, ἔφη, δεινός εἰμι ταύτην τὴν τέχνην. Ποίαν; ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας. Τὸ γινῶναι ὁποῖος ἂν γάμος 19 ἐκάστῳ συναρμόσειε. καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἔφη, Λέγε

- δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ποίαν τινά μοι γυναῖκα οἶει
 20 συναρμόσειν κάλλιστα. Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, μικράν·
 μικρὸς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰ· εἰ δὲ μεγάλην γαμεῖς, ἦν
 ποτε βούλη αὐτὴν ὀρθὴν φιλεῖν, προσάλλεσθαι
 σε δεήσει ὥσπερ τὰ κυνάρια. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, ἔφη,
 ὀρθῶς προνοεῖς· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν ἀλτικὸς
 21 εἰμι. Ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, σιμὴ ἂν σοι ἰσχυρῶς συμ-
 φέροι. Πρὸς τί δὴ αὐ τοῦτο; Ὅτι, ἔφη, σὺ
 γρυπὸς εἰ· πρὸς οὖν τὴν σιμότητα σάφ' ἴσθι ὅτι ἡ
 γρυπότης ἄριστ' ἂν προσαρμόσειε. Λέγεις σύ,
 ἔφη, ὥς καὶ τῷ εὖ δεδειπνηκότι ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν
 ἀδειπνος ἂν συναρμόζοι. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ
 Κῦρος· τῶν μὲν γὰρ μεστῶν γρυπὴ ἢ γαστήρ
 22 γίγνεται, τῶν δὲ ἀδειπνων σιμὴ. καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας
 ἔφη, Ψυχρῷ δ' ἂν βασιλεῖ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔχοις
 ἂν εἰπεῖν ποία τις συνοίσει; ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ ὁ τε
 23 Κῦρος ἐξεγέλασε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμοίως. γελῶντων
 δὲ ἅμα εἶπεν ὁ Ὑστάσπας, Πολύ γ', ἔφη, μάλιστα
 τούτου σε, ὦ Κῦρε, ζηλῶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ. Τίνος;
 ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Ὅτι δύνασαι καὶ ψυχρὸς ὢν γέλωτα
 παρέχειν. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἔπειτ' οὐκ ἂν
 πρίαίό γε παμπόλλου ὥστε σοι ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι,
 καὶ ἀπαγγελθῆναι παρ' ἧ εὐδοκιμεῖν βούλει ὅτι
 ἀστεῖος εἶ; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω διεσκώπτετο.
 24 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τιγράνη μὲν ἐξήνεγκε γυναικεῖον
 κόσμον, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῇ γυναικὶ δοῦναι, ὅτι ἀνδρείως
 συνεστρατεύετο τῷ ἀνδρί, Ἀρταβάζω δὲ χρυσοῦν
 ἔκπωμα, τῷ δὲ Ἑρκανίῳ ἵππον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ
 καὶ καλὰ ἐδωρήσατο. Σοὶ δέ, ἔφη, ὦ Γωβρύα, δώσω
 25 ἄνδρα τῇ θυγατρὶ. Οὐκοῦν ἐμέ, ἔφη ὁ Ὑστάσπας,

δώσεις, ἴνα καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα λάβω. Ἡ καὶ ἔστι σοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐσία ἀξία τῶν τῆς παιδός; Νῆ Δ', ἔφη, πολλαπλασίων μὲν οὖν χρημάτων. Καὶ ποῦ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἔστι σοι αὕτη ἡ οὐσία; Ἐνταῦθα, ἔφη, ὅπουπερ καὶ σὺ κάθησαι φίλος ὦν ἐμοί. Ἀρκεῖ μοι, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιάν, Δίδου, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε· δέχομαι γάρ. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ Ἑστιάσπου δε- 28 ξιάν ἔδωκε τῷ Γωβρύᾳ, ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔδωκε δῶρα τῷ Ἑστιάσπᾳ, ὅπως τῇ παιδί· πέμψει· Χρυσάνταν δ' ἐφίλησε προσαναγόμενος. καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος εἶπε, Μὰ Δ', ἔφη, ὦ 27 Κῦρε, οὐχ ὁμοίου γε χρυσοῦ ἐμοί τε τὸ ἐκπῶμα δέδωκας καὶ Χρυσάντα τὸ δῶρον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ σοι, ἔφη, δώσω. ἐπήρετο ἐκεῖνος, Πότε; Εἰς τριακοστόν, ἔφη, ἔτος. Ὡς ἀναμενούντος, ἔφη, καὶ οὐκ ἀποθανουμένου, οὕτω παρασκευάζου. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔληξεν ἡ σκηνή· ἐξανισταμένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐξανέστη καὶ ὁ Κῦρος καὶ συμπροῦπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας.

Provision for the allies of the Persians : distribution of the treasure taken at Sardis.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς ἐθελουσίους συμμάχους 29 γενομένους ἀπέπεμπεν οἴκῳδε ἐκάστους, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ἐβούλοντο παρ' αὐτῷ· τούτοις δὲ χώραν καὶ οἴκους ἔδωκε, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν καταμεινάντων τούτων τότε ἀπόγονοι· πλείστοι δ' εἰς Μήδων καὶ Ἑρκανίων· τοῖς δ' ἀπιούσι δωρησάμενος πολλὰ καὶ ἀμέμπτους ποιησάμενος καὶ ἄρ-

29 χοντας καὶ στρατιώτας ἀπεπέμψατο. ἐκ τούτου δὲ
 διέδωκε καὶ τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν στρατιώταις τὰ χρή-
 ματα ὅσα ἐκ Σάρδεων ἔλαβε· καὶ τοῖς μὲν μυριάρ-
 χοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπηρέταις ἐξαίρετα ἐδίδου
 πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστω, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διένειμε· καὶ τὸ
 μέρος ἐκάστω δὸς τῶν μυριάρχων ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς
 30 διανέμειν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις διένειμεν. ἔδοσαν δὲ
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χρήματα ἄρχων ἄρχοντας τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυ-
 τῷ δοκιμάζων· τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα οἱ ἐξάδαρχοι τοὺς ὑφ'
 ἑαυτοῖς ιδιώτας δοκιμάσαντες πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκά-
 στω ἔδοσαν· καὶ οὕτω πάντες εἰλήφesan τὸ δίκαιον
 31 μέρος.

Cyrus obviates misunderstandings by a declaration
 of his own possessions.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰλήφesan τὰ τότε δοθέντα, οἱ μὲν
 τινες ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ Κύρου τοιάδε· Ἡ που αὐτός
 γε πολλὰ ἔχει, ὅπου γε καὶ ἡμῶν ἐκάστω τοσαῦτα
 δέδωκεν· οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, Ποῖα πολλὰ
 ἔχει; οὐχ ὁ Κύρου τρόπος τοιοῦτος οἷος χρηματί-
 ζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διδούς μᾶλλον ἢ κτώμενος ἡδεται.
 32 αἰσθανόμενος δὲ ὁ Κῦρος τούτους τοὺς λόγους
 καὶ τὰς δόξας τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ συνέλεξε τοὺς φί-
 λους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους ἅπαντας καὶ ἔλεξεν
 ὧδε· Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐώρακα μὲν ἤδη ἀνθρώπους οἱ
 βούλονται δοκεῖν πλείω κεκτῆσθαι ἢ ἔχουσιν, ἔλευ-
 θεριώτεροι ἂν οἰόμενοι οὕτω φαίνεσθαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δο-
 κοῦσιν, ἔφη, οὗτοι τοῦμπαλιν οὐ βούλονται ἐφέλ-
 κεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ πολλὰ δοκοῦντα ἔχειν μὴ κατ'
 ἀξίαν τῆς οὐσίας φαίνεσθαι ὠφελοῦντα τοὺς φίλους

ἀνελευθερίαν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ περιάπτειν. εἰσὶ δ' αὖ, ἔφη, 33
οἱ λεληθέναι βούλονται ὅσα ἂν ἔχωσι· πονηροὶ οὖν
καὶ οὗτοι τοῖς φίλοις ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν εἶναι· διὰ
γὰρ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ ὄντα πολλάκις δεόμενοι οὐκ
ἐπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ φίλοι τοῖς ἐταίροις, ἀλλὰ τη-
τῶνται. ἀπλουστάτου δέ μοι, ἔφη, δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ 34
τὴν δύναμιν φανεράν ποιήσαντα ἐκ ταύτης ἀγωνί-
ζεσθαι περὶ καλοκάγαθίας. κἀγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, βού-
λομαι ὑμῖν ὅσα μὲν οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν τῶν ἐμοὶ
δυντῶν δεῖξαι· ὅσα δὲ μὴ οἷόν τε ἰδεῖν διηγήσασθαι.
ταῦτα εἰπὼν, τὰ μὲν ἐδείκνυε πολλά τε καὶ καλὰ 35
κτήματα· τὰ δὲ κείμενα, ὥς μὴ ῥάδια εἶναι ἰδεῖν,
διηγείτο· τέλος δὲ εἶπεν ὧδε· Ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ ἄν- 36
δρες, ἅπαντα δεῖ ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐμὰ ἡγεῖσθαι
ἢ καὶ ὑμέτερα· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα ἀθροίζω, οὔθ'
ὅπως αὐτὸς καταδαπανήσω, οὔθ' ὅπως αὐτὸς κατα-
τρίψω· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχω τῷ τε
αἰεὶ ὑμῶν καλὸν τι ποιοῦντι διδόναι, καὶ ὅπως, ἦν
τις ὑμῶν τινὸς ἐνδεῖσθαι νομίση, πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλθὼν
λάβῃ οὐ ἂν ἐνδεῆς τυγχάνῃ ὢν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
οὕτως ἐλέχθη.

V.

Cyrus leaves Babylon for Persia. Marching-
arrangements of the army.

ἮΝΙΚΑ δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν 1
Βαβυλῶνι ὥς καὶ ἀποδημεῖν, συνεσκευάζετο τὴν εἰς
Πέρσας πορείαν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήγγειλεν·
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνόμισεν ἱκανὰ ἔχειν ὧν ᾤετο δεῆσεσθαι,
οὕτω δὴ ἀνεξεύγνυε. διηγησόμεθα δὲ ἤδη καὶ ταῦτα, 2

ὥς πολὺς στόλος ὦν εὐτάκτως μὲν κατεσκευάζετο, καὶ πάλιν ἀνεσκευάζετο, ταχὺ δὲ κατεχωρίζετο ὅπου δέοιτο. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν στρατοπεδεύηται βασιλεὺς, σκηναὶς μὲν δὴ ἔχοντες πάντες οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα στρατεύονται καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος.

3 εὐθύς δὲ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζε Κῦρος, πρὸς ἧν βλέπουσαν ἴστασθαι τὴν σκηνήν· ἔπειτα ἔταξε πρῶτον μὲν, πόσον δεῖ ἀπολιπόντας σκηνοῦν τοὺς δορυφόρους τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς· ἔπειτα σιτοποιοῖς μὲν χώραν ἀπέδειξε τὴν δεξιάν, ὀψοποιοῖς δὲ τὴν ἀριστεράν, ἵπποις δὲ τὴν δεξιάν, ὑποζυγίοις δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἀριστεράν· καὶ τὰλλα δὲ διετέτακτο ὥστε εἰδέναι ἕκαστον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν καὶ μέτρον

4 καὶ τόπων. ὅταν δὲ ἀνασκευάζωνται, συντίθησι μὲν ἕκαστος σκεύη οἷσπερ τέτακται χρῆσθαι, ἀνατίθενται δ' αὖ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ὥσθ' ἅμα μὲν πάντες ἔρχονται οἱ σκευαγωγοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγμένα ἄγειν, ἅμα δὲ πάντες ἀνατιθέασιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος. οὕτω δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος ἀρκεῖ μιᾷ τε

5 σκηνῇ καὶ πάσαις ἀνερῆσθαι. ὡσαύτως οὕτως ἔχει καὶ περὶ κατασκευῆς. καὶ περὶ τοῦ πεποιῆσθαι δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα ἐν καιρῷ ὡσαύτως διατέτακται ἑκάστοις τὰ ποιητέα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος

6 ἀρκεῖ ἐνὶ τε μέρει καὶ πᾶσι πεποιῆσθαι. ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια θεράποντες χώραν εἶχον τὴν προσήκουσαν ἕκαστοι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ὀπλοφόροι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει χώραν τε εἶχον τὴν τῇ ὀπλίσει ἑκάστη ἐπιτηδεῖαν, καὶ ἥδεσαν ταύτην ὅποια ἦν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμφισβήτητον πάντες κατε-

7 χωρίζοντο. καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἐν

οἰκία εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα τὴν εὐθημοσύνην· ὅταν γάρ
 τίς του δέηται, δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅπου δεῖ ἐλθόντα
 λαβεῖν· πολὺ δ' ἔτι κάλλιον ἐνόμιζε τὴν τῶν στρα-
 τιωτικῶν φύλων εὐθημοσύνην εἶναι, ὅσῳ τε ὀξύτεροι
 οἱ καιροὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ χρήσεων καὶ μείζω
 τὰ σφάλματα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστεριζόντων ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἀπὸ
 δὲ τῶν ἐν καιρῷ παραγιγνομένων πλείστου ἄξια τὰ
 κτήματα ἑώρα γιγνόμενα ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς· διὰ
 ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἐπεμέλετο ταύτης τῆς εὐθημοσύνης
 μάλιστα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ 8
 κατετίθετο τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὡς ταύτης τῆς χώρας
 ἐχυρωτάτης οὔσης· ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν πιστοτά-
 τους, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, περὶ ἑαυτὸν εἶχε, τούτων δὲ ἐν
 κύκλῳ ἔχομένους ἵππεας τ' εἶχε καὶ ἄρματηλάτας.
 καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἐχυρὰς ἐνόμιζε χώρας δεῖσθαι, 9
 ὅτι οἷς μάχονται ὅπλοις οὐδὲν πρόχειρον ἔχοντες
 τούτων στρατοπεδεύονται, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου
 δέονται εἰς τὴν ἐξόπλισιν, εἰ μέλλουσι χρησίμως
 ἔξειν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ 10
 τῶν ἱππέων πελτασταῖς χώρα ἦν· τοξοτῶν δ' αὖ
 χώρα ἡ πρόσθεν ἦν καὶ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν
 ἱππέων. ὀπλίτας δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μεγάλα γέρρα ἔχον- 11
 τας κύκλῳ πάντων εἶχεν, ὥσπερ τεῖχος· ὅπως καί,
 εἰ δεῖ τι ἐνσκευάζεσθαι τοὺς ἱππέας, οἱ μονιμώτα-
 τοι πρόσθεν ὄντες παρέχοιεν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῆ τὴν
 καθόπλισιν. ἐκάθευδον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τάξει ὥσπερ οἱ 12
 ὀπλῖται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τοξόται·
 ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τῶν νυκτῶν, εἰ δεῖ τι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ
 ὀπλῖται παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶ παίειν τὸν εἰς χεῖρας
 ἰόντα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοξόται καὶ οἱ ἀκοντισταί, εἴ τινες

- προσίοιεν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου ἀκοντίζοιεν καὶ τοξεύοιεν ὑπὲρ
 13 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν. εἶχον δὲ καὶ σημεῖα πάντες οἱ ἄρ-
 χοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς· οἱ δ' ὑπηρεῖται ὥσπερ καὶ
 ἐν ταῖς πολεσιν οἱ σώφρονες ἴσασι μὲν καὶ τῶν
 πλείστων τὰς οἰκήσεις μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἐπικαιρίων,
 οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τὰς τε χώρας
 τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἡπίσταντο οἱ Κύρου ὑπηρεῖται
 καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐγίνωσκον ἅ ἐκάστοις ἦν· ὥστε
 οὗτου δέοιτο Κύρος οὐκ ἐζήτουν ἀλλὰ τὴν συντο-
 14 μωτάτην ἐφ' ἑκαστον ἔθεον. καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῆ
 ἑκαστα εἶναι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἦν δῆλα καὶ ὅποτε
 τις εὐτακτοίῃ· καὶ εἴ τις μὴ πράττοι τὸ προσ-
 ταττόμενον. οὕτω δὲ ἐχόιτων, ἡγεῖτο, εἴ τις καὶ
 ἐπίθωιτο νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰς ἐνέδραν εἰς
 15 τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους ἐμπίπτειν. καὶ
 τὸ τακτικὸν δὲ εἶναι οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἡγεῖτο, εἴ τις
 ἐκτεῖναι φάλαγγας εὐπόρως δύναιτο ἢ βαθύναι, ἢ
 ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα καταστήσαι, ἢ ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἢ
 ἀριστερᾶς ἢ ὅπισθεν ἐπιφανέντων τῶν πολεμίων
 ὀρθῶς ἐξελίζαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διασπᾶν, ὅποτε δέοι,
 τακτικὸν ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τὸ τιθέναι τὸ μέρος ἑκαστον
 ὅπου μάλιστα ἐν ὠφελείᾳ ἂν εἴη, καὶ τὸ ταχύνειν
 δὲ ὅπου φθάσαι δέοι, πάντα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
 τακτικοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, καὶ ἐπεμελεῖτο τού-
 16 των. πάντων ὁμοίως. καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς πορείαις
 πρὸς τὸ συμπύπτον αἰεὶ διατάττων ἐπορεύετο, ἐν
 δὲ τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὥσπερ εἴρηται
 κατεχώριζεν.

Cyrgus visits Cyaxares. Cyaxares offers Cyrgus his daughter in marriage.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι γίνονται κατὰ τὴν Μη- 17
δικήν, τρέπεται ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς Κυαξάρην. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ὁ Κῦρος
εἶπε τῷ Κυαξάρει, ὅτι οἶκος αὐτῷ ἐξηρημένος εἴη ἐν
Βαβυλῶνι καὶ ἀρχεῖα, ὅπως ἔχῃ, καὶ ὅταν ἐκεῖσε
ἔλθῃ, εἰς οἰκεία κατὰγασθαι· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα
δῶρα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ. ὁ δὲ Κυ- 18
αξάρης ταῦτα μὲν ἐδέχετο, προσέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ
τὴν θυγατέρα στέφανόν τε χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια
φέρουσιν καὶ στρεπτὸν καὶ στολὴν Μηδικὴν ὥς
δυνατὸν καλλίστην. καὶ ἡ μὲν δὴ παῖς ἐστεφάνου 19
τὸν Κῦρον, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης εἶπε, Δίδωμι δέ σοι,
ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, καὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην γυναῖκα, ἐμὴν
οὖσαν θυγατέρα· καὶ ὁ σὸς δὲ πατὴρ ἔγημε τὴν
τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς σὺ ἐγένου· αὕτη
δ' ἐστὶν ἥν σὺ πολλάκις παῖς ὢν ὅτε παρ' ἡμῖν
ἦσθα ἐτιβηνήσω· καὶ ὅποτε τις ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὴν τίνι
γαμοίτο, ἔλεγεν ὅτι Κύρῳ· ἐπιδίδωμι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐγὼ
καὶ φερὴν Μηδίαν τὴν πᾶσαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστι μοι
ἄδωρον παῖς γνήσιος. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ 20
Κῦρος ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἄλλ', ὦ Κυαξάρη, τό τε γένος
ἐπαινώ καὶ τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὰ δῶρα· βούλομαι δέ,
ἔφη, σὺν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς μητρὸς
ταῦτά σοι συναινέσαι. εἶπε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὁ
Κῦρος, ὅμως δὲ τῇ παιδί πάντα ἐδωρήσατο ὅποσα
ᾤετο Κυαξάρη χαριεῖσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας εἰς
Πέρσας ἐπορεύετο.

Cyrus' arrival in Persia. Cambyses makes a covenant between the Persians and Cyrus as their future sovereign.

- 21 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Περσῶν ὀρίοις ἐγένετο πορευόμενος, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπορεύετο, ἱερεῖα μὲν ἄγων ὥς πᾶσι Πέρσαις ἱκανὰ θύειν τε καὶ ἐστιᾶσθαι· δῶρα δ' ἤγγεν οἷα μὲν ἔπρεπε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, οἷα δ' ἔπρεπεν ἀρχαῖς καὶ γεραιτέροις καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις πᾶσιν· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πᾶσι Πέρσαις καὶ Περσίσιν ὅσαπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι δίδωσιν ὅτανπερ ἀφίκηται
- 22 βασιλεὺς εἰς Πέρσας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνέλεξε Καμβύσης τοὺς γεραιτέρους Περσῶν καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, οἵπερ τῶν μεγίστων κύριοί εἰσι· παρεκάλεσε δὲ καὶ Κῦρον, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι καὶ σύ, ὦ Κῦρε, ἐγὼ ἀμφοτέροις ὑμῖν εἰκότως εὖνους εἰμί· ὑμῶν μὲν γὰρ βασιλεύω· σὺ δέ, ὦ Κῦρε, παῖς ἐμὸς εἶ. δίκαιος οὖν εἰμι ὅσα γιγνώσκειν δοκῶ ἀγαθὰ ἀμφοτέροις ταῦτα εἰς

23 τὸ μέσον λέγειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρελθόντα ὑμεῖς μὲν Κῦρον ἠϋξήσατε, στράτευμα δόντες καὶ ἄρχοντα τούτου αὐτὸν καταστήσαντες· Κῦρος δὲ ἡγούμενος τούτου σὺν θεοῖς εὐκλεεῖς μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησεν, ἐντίμους δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάσῃ· τῶν δὲ συστρατευσαμένων αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους καὶ πεπλούτικε, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς μισθὸν καὶ τροφήν παρεσκεύακεν· ἵππικὸν δὲ καταστήσας Περσῶν πεποίηκε Πέρσαις καὶ πεδίων

εἶναι μετουσίαν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω 24
 γιγνώσκητε, πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἵτιοι ἀλλήλοις
 ἔσεσθε· εἰ δὲ ἡ σύ, ὦ Κῦρε, ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς παρού-
 σαις τύχαις ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ Περσῶν ἄρχειν ἐπὶ
 πλεονεξία ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων, ἡ ὑμεῖς, ὦ πολίται,
 φθονήσαντες τούτῳ τῆς δυνάμεως καταλύειν πειρά-
 σεσθε τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἐμποδὼν ἀλλή-
 λοις πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔσεσθε. ὥς οὖν μὴ ταῦτα 25
 γίνηται ἀλλὰ τὰγαθὰ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, θύσαντας
 ὑμᾶς κοινῇ καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυραμένους συνθέσθαι,
 σὲ μὲν, ὦ Κῦρε, ἣν τις ἐπιστρατεύηται χώρα Περ-
 σίδι ἢ Περσῶν νόμους διασπᾶν πειράται, βοηθή-
 σειν παντὶ σθένει, ὑμᾶς δέ, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἣν τις ἡ
 ἀρχῆς Κῦρον ἐπιχειρῇ καταπαύειν ἢ ἀφίστασθαι
 τις τῶν ὑποχειριων, βοηθήσειν καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ
 Κύρῳ καθ' ὃ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλῃ. καὶ ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐγὼ 26
 ζῶ, ἐμὴ γίγνεται ἡ ἐν Πέρσαις βασιλεία· ὅταν δ'
 ἐγὼ τελευτήσω, δῆλον ὅτι Κύρου, ἐὰν ζῇ. καὶ
 ὅταν μὲν οὗτος ἀφίκηται εἰς Πέρσας, ὁτίως ἂν ὑμῖν
 ἔχοι τοῦτον θύειν τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἄπερ νῦν ἐγὼ
 θύω· ὅταν δ' οὗτος ἔκδημος ᾖ, καλῶς ἂν οἶμαι ὑμῖν
 ἔχειν εἰ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὃς ἂν δοκῇ ὑμῖν ἄριστος
 εἶναι, οὗτος τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελοίῃ. ταῦτα εἰπόντος 27
 Καμβύσου συιέδοξε Κῦρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς Περσῶν τέ-
 λεσι· καὶ συνθέμενοι ταῦτα τότε καὶ θεοὺς ἐπι-
 μαρτυράμενοι οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένουσι ποιοῦντες
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους Πέρσαι τε καὶ βασιλεὺς.

Cyrus' marriage and return to Babylon. Assignment of satraps to the subject nations.

28 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπῆει ὁ Κῦρος. ὥς δ' ἀπὼν ἐγένετο ἐν Μήδοις, συνδόξαν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ γαμεῖ τὴν Κυαξάρου θυγατέρα, ἧς ἔτι καὶ νῦν λόγος ὡς παγκάλης γενομένης. γήμας δ' εὐθὺς ἔχων ἀνεξεύγνυνεν.

VI.

1 ἘΠΕΙ δ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἦν, ἐδόκει αὐτῷ σατράπας ἤδη πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ κατεστραμμένα ἔθνη. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις φρουράρχους καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυλακῶν οὐκ ἄλλου ἢ ἑαυτοῦ ἐβούλετο ἀκούειν· ταῦτα δὲ προεωρᾶτο ἐννοῶν ὅπως, εἴ τις τῶν σατραπῶν ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων ἐξυβρίσειε καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειε μὴ πείθεσθαι, εὐθὺς ἀντιπάλους ἔχει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.
2 ταῦτ' οὖν βουλόμενος πρᾶξαι, ἔγνω συγκαλέσαι πρῶτον τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους, καὶ προειπεῖν, ὅπως εἰδεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἴασιν οἱ ἰόντες· ἐνόμιζε γὰρ οὕτω ῥᾶον φέρειν ἂν αὐτοὺς· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατασταλή τις ἄρχων καὶ αἰσθάνοιτο ταῦτα, χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ φέρειν, νομίζοντες δι' ἑαυτῶν ἀπιστίαν ταῦτα
3 γενέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ συλλέξας, λέγει αὐτοῖς τοιάδε·

Ἄνδρες φίλοι, εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς κατεστραμμέναις πόλεσι φρουροὶ καὶ φρούραρχοι, οὓς τότε κατελίπομεν· καὶ τούτοις ἐγὼ προστάξας ἀπήλθον ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὰ δὲ τείχη

διασώζειν. τούτους μὲν οὖν οὐ παύσω τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ καλῶς διαπεφυλάχασι τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἄλλους δὲ σατράπας πέμψαι μοι δοκεῖ, οἵτινες ἄρξουσιν τῶν ἐνοικούντων, καὶ τὸν δασμὸν λαμβάνοντες τοῖς τε φρουροῖς δώσουσι μισθόν, καὶ ἄλλο τελέσουσιν ὃ τι ἂν δέη. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τῶν 4 ἐνθάδε μενόντων ὑμῶν, οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ πράγματα παρέχω πέμπων πράξοντάς τι ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, χώρας γενέσθαι καὶ οἴκους ἐκεῖ, ὅπως δασμοφορῇται τε αὐτοῖς δεῦρο, ὅταν τε ἴωσιν ἐκεῖσε, εἰς οἰκεῖα ἔχωσι κατὰγεσθαι. ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ ἔδωκε πολλοῖς 5 τῶν φίλων κατὰ πάσας τὰς καταστραφεῖσας πόλεις οἴκους καὶ ὑπηκόους· καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν ἔτι τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τῶν τότε λαβόντων αἱ χῶραι καταμέγουσα ἄλλαι ἐν ἄλλῃ γῇ· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἰκοῦσι παρὰ βασιλεῖ. Δεῖ δέ, ἔφη, τοὺς ἰόντας σατράπας ἐπὶ 6 ταύτας τὰς χώρας τοιούτους ἡμᾶς σκοπεῖν οἵτινες ὃ τι ἂν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκάστη καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ μεμνήσονται καὶ δεῦρο ἀποπέμπειν, ὥς μετέχωμεν καὶ οἱ ἐνθάδε ὄντες τῶν πανταχοῦ γυγνομένων ἀγαθῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τί που δεινὸν γένηται, ἡμῖν ἔσται ἀμυντέον. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τότε μὲν ἔπαυσε 7 τὸν λόγον, ἔπειτα δὲ οὗς ἐγύγνωσκε τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοισι ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἵεναι, ἐκλεξάμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἐπιτηδειοτάτους εἶναι ἔπεμπε σατράπας εἰς Ἀραβίαν μὲν Μεγάβυζον, εἰς Καππαδοκίαν δὲ Ἀρταβάταν, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν μεγάλην Ἀρτακάμαν, εἰς Λυδίαν δὲ καὶ Ἰωνίαν Χρυσάνταν, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ Ἀδούσιον, ὃνπερ ἤτοῦντο, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν παρ' Ἑλλάσποντον

- 8 καὶ Αἰολίδα Φαρνοῦχον. Κιλικίας δὲ καὶ Κύπρου
καὶ Παφλαγόνων οὐκ ἔπεμψε Πέρσας σατράπας,
ὅτι ἐκόντες ἐδόκουν συστρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Βαβυ-
λώνα· δασμοὺς μέντοι συνέταξεν ἀποφέρειν καὶ
9 τούτους. ὥς δὲ τότε Κῦρος κατεστήσατο, οὕτως
ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλέως εἰσὶν αἱ ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις
φυλακαὶ καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι τῶν φυλακῶν ἐκ βασι-
λέως εἰςὶ καθεστηκότες καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἀπο-
10 γεγραμμένοι. προεῖπε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις
σατράπαις, ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐώρων ποιοῦντα πάντα
μιμῆσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν ἵππεας καθιστάναι ἐκ τῶν
συνεπισπομένων Περσῶν καὶ συμμάχων καὶ ἄρμα-
τηλάτας· ὅπόσοι δ' ἂν γῆν καὶ ἀρχεῖα λάβωσιν,
ἀναγκάζειν τούτους ἐπὶ θύρας ἵεναι καὶ σωφροσύνης
ἐπιμελομένους παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ σατράπῃ
χρηῖσθαι ἣν τι δέηται· παιδεύειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς
γιγνομένους παῖδας ἐπὶ θύραις, ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτῷ·
ἐξάγειν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τὸν σατράπην τοὺς ἀπὸ
θυρῶν καὶ ἀσκεῖν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἑαυτῷ
11 τὰ πολεμικά. Ὅς δ' ἂν ἐμοί, ἔφη, κατὰ λόγον
τῆς δυνάμεως πλείστα μὲν ἄρματα, πλείστους δὲ
καὶ ἀρίστους ἵππεας ἀποδεικνύῃ, τούτον ἐγὼ ὥς
ἀγαθὸν σύμμαχον καὶ ὥς ἀγαθὸν συμφύλακα Πέρ-
σαις τε καὶ ἐμοί τῆς ἀρχῆς τιμήσω. ἔστωσαν
δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ ἔδραις, ὥσπερ παρ' ἐμοί, οἱ
ἄριστοι προτετιμημένοι· καὶ τράπεζα, ὥσπερ ἡ
ἐμή, τρέφουσα μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἔπειτα δὲ
καὶ ὥς φίλοις μεταδιδόναι ἱκανῶς κεκοσμημένη,
καὶ ὥς τὸν καλὸν τι ποιοῦντα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιγε-
12 ραίρειν. κτᾶσθε δὲ καὶ παραδείσους, καὶ θηρία τρέ-

φετε, καὶ μήτε αὐτοί ποτε ἄνευ πόνου σῖτον παρά-
 θεσθε, μήτε ἵπποις ἀγυμνάστοις χόρτον ἐμβάλλετε·
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην ἐγὼ εἰς ὧν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἀρετῇ
 τὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰ διασώζειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐμὲ
 μὲν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα σὺν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ
 ὑμῖν ἐπικούρου εἶναι, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁμοίως αὐτοὺς
 ἀγαθοὺς ὄντας σὺν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ
 συμμάχους εἶναι. βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς καὶ τοῦτο 13
 κατανοῆσαι, ὅτι τούτων ὧν νῦν ὑμῖν παρακα-
 λεύομαι οὐδὲν τοῖς δούλοις προστάττω· ἀ δ' ὑμᾶς
 φημι χρῆναι ποιεῖν ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς πειρῶμαι
 πάντα πράττειν. ὥσπερ δ' ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς κελεύω
 ἐμὲ μιμῆσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν
 ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας μιμῆσθαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκετε. ταῦτα 14
 δὲ Κύρου οὕτω τότε τάξαντος ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῷ
 αὐτῷ τρόπῳ πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ φυλα-
 καὶ ὁμοίως φυλάττονται, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀρ-
 χόντων θύραι ὁμοίως θεραπεύονται, πάντες δὲ οἱ
 οἴκοι καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ ὁμοίως οἰκοῦνται,
 πᾶσι δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν παρόντων ἕδραις προτετί-
 μηνται, πᾶσι δὲ αἱ πορεῖαι συντεταγμέναι κατὰ
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰσὶ, πᾶσι δὲ συγκεφαλαιοῦνται
 πολλὰ πράξεις ὀλίγοις ἐπιστάταις. ταῦτα δὲ 15
 εἰπὼν ὡς χρῆ ποιεῖν ἐκάστους καὶ δύναμιν ἐκάστῳ
 προσθεὶς ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ προεῖπεν ἅπασιν παρα-
 σκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς νέωτα στρατείας ἐσομένης καὶ
 ἐπιδείξεως ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἵππων καὶ
 ἀρμάτων.

κατενοήσαμεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι Κύρου κατάρ- 16
 ξαντος, ὥς φασι, καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένει· ἐφοδεύει

γὰρ ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν αἰὲς στράτευμα ἔχων, ὥς ἦν μὲν τις τῶν σατραπῶν ἐπικουρίας δέηται, ἐπικουρῇ, ἦν δέ τις ὑβρίζῃ, σωφρονίζῃ, ἦν δέ τις ἡ δασμῶν φορᾶς ἀμελήῃ ἢ τῶν ἐνοίκων φυλακῆς ἢ ὅπως ἡ χώρα ἐνεργὸς ᾖ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τεταγμένων παραλίπη, ταῦτα πάντα κατευτρεπίζει· ἦν δὲ μὴ δύνηται, βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλῃ· ὁ δὲ ἀκούων βουλεύεται περὶ τοῦ ἀτακτοῦντος. καὶ οἱ πολλάκις λεγόμενοι ὅτι βασιλέως υἱὸς καταβαίνει, βασιλέως ἀδελφός, βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός, καὶ ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἐκφαινόμενοι, οὗτοι τῶν ἐφόδων εἰσὶν· ἀποτρέπεται γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὁπόθεν ἂν βασιλεὺς κελεύῃ.

Arrangements for quick transmission of intelligence.

- 17 Κατεμάθομεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλο μηχανήμα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξ οὗ ταχέως ᾗσθάνετο καὶ τὰ πάμπολυ ἀπέχοντα ὅπως ἔχοι. σκεψάμενος γὰρ πόσῃν ἂν ὁδὸν ἵππος κατανύτοι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλαυνόμενος ὥστε διαρκεῖν, ἐποίησατο ἱππῶνας τοσοῦτον διαλείποντας καὶ ἵππους ἐν αὐτοῖς κατέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους τούτων, καὶ ἄνδρα ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν τόπων ἔταξε τὸν ἐπιτήδειον παραδέχεσθαι τὰ φερόμενα γράμματα καὶ παραδιδόναι καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς ἀπειρηκότας ἵππους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἄλλους πέμπειν νεαλεῖς.
- 18 ἔστι δ' ὅτε οὐδὲ τὰς νύκτας φασὶν ἴστασθαι ταύτην τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡμερινῷ ἀγγέλῳ τὸν νυκτερινὸν διαδέχεσθαι. τούτων δὲ οὕτω γιγνομένων, φασὶ τινες θᾶπτον τῶν γεράνων ταύτην τὴν πορείαν ἀνύτειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ψεύδονται, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων

πεζῇ πορειῶν αὕτη ταχίστη, τοῦτο εὐδηλον. ἀγα-
θὸν δὲ ὡς τάχιστα ἕκαστον αἰσθανόμενον ὡς τά-
χιστα ἐπιμελείσθαι.

Final conquests of Cyrgus. Places of residence.

Ἐπει δὲ περιῆλθεν ὁ ἐνιαυτός, συνήγειρε στρα- 19
τιὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ λέγεται αὐτῷ γενέσθαι εἰς
δώδεκα μὲν ἱππέων μυριάδας, εἰς δισχίλια δὲ ἄρ-
ματα δρεπανηφόρα, πεζῶν δὲ εἰς μυριάδας ἐξήκοντα.
ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ, ὄρμα δὴ ταύ- 20
την τὴν στρατείαν, ἐν ἣ λέγεται καταστρέψα-
σθαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅσα Συρίαν ἐκβάντι οἰκεῖ
μέχρις ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἢ εἰς
Αἴγυπτον στρατεία λέγεται γενέσθαι, καὶ κατα-
στρέψασθαι Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὴν ἀρχὴν 21
ὠρίζεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἔω μὲν ἢ ἐρυθρὰ θάλαττα, πρὸς
ἄρκτον δὲ ὁ Εὐξείνιος πόντος, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ Κύ-
προς καὶ Αἴγυπτος, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιοπία.
τούτων δὲ τὰ πέρατα τὰ μὲν διὰ θάλπος, τὰ δὲ διὰ
ψύχος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ὕδωρ, τὰ δὲ δι' ἀνυδρίαν δυσοίκητα.
αὐτὸς δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τὴν δίαιταν ποιησάμενος, 22
τὸν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν χειμῶνα χρόνον διῆγεν ἐν Βαβυ-
λῶνι ἑπτὰ μῆνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἀλεεινὴ ἡ χώρα· τὸν
δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔαρ τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν Σούσοις· τὴν δὲ
ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους δύο μῆνας ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις· οὕτω
δὲ ποιοῦντ' αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐν ἑαρινῷ θάλπει καὶ
ψύχει διάγειν ἀεὶ. οὕτω δὲ διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ 23
ἄνθρωποι, ὡς πᾶν μὲν ἔθνος μειονεκτεῖν ἐδόκει, εἰ
μὴ Κύρῳ πέμψειεν ὅ τι καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ

ἢ φύοιτο ἢ τρέφοιτο ἢ τεχνῶτο· πᾶσα δὲ πόλις
ὡσαύτως· πᾶς δὲ ἰδιώτης πλούσιος ἂν ᾔετο γενέσθαι,
εἴ τι Κύρῳ χαρίσαιοτο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος λαμβάνων
παρ' ἐκάστων ὧν ἀφθονίαν εἶχον οἱ διδόντες ἀντε-
δίδου ὧν σπανίζοντας αὐτοὺς αἰσθάνοιτο.

VII.

Cyrus, revisiting Persia for the seventh time, is warned
in a dream to prepare for death.

- 1 ὍΤΤΩ δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος προκεχωρηκότος, μάλα δὴ
πρεσβύτης ὧν ὁ Κῦρος ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Πέρσας τὸ
ἑβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ
καὶ ἡ μήτηρ πάλαι δὴ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐτετελευτήκεσαν
αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔθυσε τὰ νομιζόμενα ἱερὰ καὶ
τοῦ χοροῦ ἡγήσατο Πέρσαις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ
2 τὰ δῶρα πᾶσι διέδωκεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει. κοιμηθεὶς
δ' ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ θναρ εἶδε τοιόνδε. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ
προσελθὼν κρείττων τις ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον εἰπεῖν,
Συσκευάζου, ὦ Κῦρε· ἤδη γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἄπαι.
τοῦτο δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ θναρ ἐξηγέρθη καὶ σχεδὸν ἐδόκει
εἰδέναι ὅτι τοῦ βίου ἡ τελευτὴ παρήλθῃ.

Cyrus recognises the truth of the warning and calls
together his children and friends.

- 3 Εὐθύς οὖν λαβὼν ἱερεῖα ἔθυε Δίῳ τε πατρίῳ
καὶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς
Πέρσαις θύουσιν, ὧδε ἐπευχόμενος· Ζεῦ πατρίῳ καὶ
Ἡλίῳ καὶ πάντες θεοί, δέχεσθε τάδε καὶ τελεστη-
ρια πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πράξεων καὶ χαριστήρια,

ὅτι ἐσημῆνατέ μοι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις
σημείοις καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φήμαις ἃ τ' ἐχρῆν
ποιεῖν καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἐχρῆν. πολλή δ' ὑμῖν χάρις ὅτι
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ γινώσκον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ οὐδε-
πώποτε ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐφρό-
νησα. αἰτοῦμαι δ' ὑμᾶς δοῦναι καὶ νῦν παισὶ μὲν
καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πατρίδι εὐδαιμονίαν,
ἐμοὶ δὲ οἷόν περ αἰῶνα δεδώκατε, τοιαύτην καὶ
τελευτήν δοῦναι. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ποιήσας καὶ 4
οἴκαδε ἐλθὼν ἔδοξεν ἡδέως ἀναπαύσεσθαι καὶ κατε-
κλίνῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρα ἦν, οἱ τεταγμένοι προσιόντες
λούσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡδέως
ἀναπαύοιτο. οἱ δ' αὖ τεταγμένοι, ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν,
δεῖπνον παρετίθουσιν· τῷ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σῆτον μὲν οὐ
προσέτετο, διψῆν δ' ἐδόκει, καὶ ἔπιεν ἡδέως. ὥς 5
δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα καὶ
τῇ τρίτῃ, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς παῖδας· οἱ δ' ἔτυχον
συνηκολουθηκότες αὐτῷ καὶ ὄντες ἐν Πέρσαις·
ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὰς Περσῶν ἀρχάς·
παρόντων δὲ πάντων ἤρχετο τοιοῦδε λόγου.

Farewell speech of Cyrus on his death-bed.

Παῖδες ἐμοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες φίλοι, ἐμοὶ 6
μὲν τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἤδη πάρεστιν· ἐκ πολλῶν
τοῦτο σαφῶς γινώσκω· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή, ὅταν τελευ-
τήσω, ὥς περὶ εὐδαίμονος ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν
πάντα. ἐγὼ γὰρ παῖς τε ὢν τὰ ἐν παισὶ νομιζό-
μενα καλὰ δοκῶ κεκαρπῶσθαι, ἐπεὶ τε ἤβησα, τὰ
ἐν νεανίσκοις, τέλειός τε ἀνὴρ γενόμενος τὰ ἐν ἀν-
δράσι· σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ τε προϊόντι ἀεὶ συναυξανο-

- μένην ἐπιγινώσκειν ἐδόκουν καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν,
 ὥστε καὶ τοῦμὸν γῆρας οὐδεπώποτε ἡσθόμην τῆς
 ἐμῆς νεότητος ἀσθενέστερον γιγνόμενον, καὶ οὐτ'
 ἐπιχειρήσας οὐτ' ἐπιθυμήσας οἶδα ὅτου ἡτύχησα.
 7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐπείδον δι' ἐμοῦ εὐδαίμονας
 γενομένους, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δουλωθέν-
 τας· καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, πρόσθεν ἰδιωτεύουσαν ἐν τῇ
 Ἀσίᾳ, νῦν προτετιμημένην καταλείπω· ὣν τ' ἑκτη-
 σάμην οὐδὲν οἶδα ὃ τι οὐ διεσώσάμην. καὶ τὸν μὲν
 παρελθόντα χρόνον ἔπραττον οὕτως ὥσπερ ἡυχό-
 μην· φόβος δέ μοι συμπαρομαρτῶν μή τι ἐν τῷ
 ἐπίοντι χρόνῳ ἢ ἰδοίμι ἢ ἀκούσαιμι ἢ πάθοιμι χαλε-
 πὸν οὐκ εἶα με τελέως μέγα φρονεῖν οὐδ' εὐφραίνει-
 8 σθαι ἐκπεπταμένως. νῦν δ', ἣν τελευτήσω, κατα-
 λείπω μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὧ παῖδες, ζῶντας, οὗσπερ ἔδοσάν
 μοι οἱ θεοὶ γενέσθαι, καταλείπω δὲ πατρίδα καὶ
 φίλους εὐδαιμονοῦντας· ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ
 δικαίως μακαριζόμενος τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον μνήμης
 9 τυγχάνοιμι; δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σαφηνί-
 σαντα καταλιπεῖν ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀμφίλογος γενομένη
 πράγματα ὑμῖν παράσχη. ἐγὼ δ' οὖν φιλῶ μὲν ἀμφο-
 τέρους ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως, ὧ παῖδες· τὸ δὲ προβουλεύειν
 καὶ τὸ ἡγεῖσθαι ἔφ' ὃ τι ἂν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι, τοῦτο
 10 πρὸς τὰ τῷ προτέρῳ γενομένῳ καὶ πλείονων κατὰ
 τὸ εἶκος ἐμπείρω. ἐπαιδεύθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως
 ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἐμῆς τε καὶ ὑμετέρας πατρίδος, τοῖς
 πρεσβυτέροις οὐ μόνον ἀδελφοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίταις
 καὶ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων καὶ λόγων ὑπείκειν, καὶ ὑμᾶς
 δέ, ὧ παῖδες, οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαίδευσεν, τοὺς μὲν
 γεραιτέρους προτιμᾶν, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων προτετιμη-

σθαι· ὥς οὖν παλαιὰ καὶ εἰθισμένα καὶ ἔννομα
λέγοντος ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀποδέχεσθε. καὶ σὺ μὲν, ὦ 11
Καμβύση, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχε, θεῶν τε διδόντων καὶ
ἐμοῦ ὅσον ἐν ἐμοί· σοὶ δ', ὦ Ταναοξάρη, σατράπην
εἶναι δίδωμι Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τρίτων
Καδουσίων· ταῦτα δέ σοι διδοὺς νομίζω ἀρχὴν μὲν
μείζω καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς βασιλείας τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ
καταλιπεῖν, εὐδαιμονίαν δέ σοι ἀλυποτέραν. ὅποίας 12
μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφροσύνης ἐπιδεῆς ἔση οὐχ
ὁρῶ, ἀλλὰ πάντα σοὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθρώπους
εὐφραίνειν παρέσται. τὸ δὲ δυσκαταπρακτοτέρων
τε ἔρᾳν καὶ τὸ πολλὰ μεριμνᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι
ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν κεντριζόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὰμὰ
ἔργα φιλονικίας καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἐπι-
βουλεύεσθαι, ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἀνάγκη σοῦ
μᾶλλον συμπαρομαρτεῖν, ἢ σάφ' ἴσθι τοῦ εὐφραίνε-
σθαι πολλὰς ἀσχολίας παρέχει. οἶσθα μὲν οὖν 13
καὶ σύ, ὦ Καμβύση, ὅτι οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπ-
τρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ
πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον
καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον. πιστοὺς δὲ μὴ νόμιζε φύεσθαι
ἀνθρώπους· πᾶσι γὰρ ἂν οἱ αὐτοὶ πιστοὶ φαίνον-
το, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πεφυκότα πᾶσι τὰ αὐτὰ
φαίνεται· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πιστοὺς τίθεσθαι δεῖ ἑκαστον
ἐαυτῷ· ἡ δὲ κτῆσις αὐτῶν ἐστὶν οὐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ
βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ. εἰ οὖν καὶ 14
ἄλλους τινὰς πειράσῃ συμφύλακας τῆς βασιλείας
ποιεῖσθαι, μηδαμόθεν πρότερον ἄρχου ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ
ὁμοθεν γενομένου. καὶ πολῖταί τοι ἄνθρωποι ἀλ-
λοδαπῶν οἰκειότεροι, καὶ σύσσιτοι ἀποσκήνων. οἱ

- δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπέρματος φύντες, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρὸς τραφέντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐξηθέντες, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων ἀγαπώμενοι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα προσαγο-
- 15 ρεύοντες, πῶς οὐ πάντων οὗτοι οἰκειότατοι; μὴ οὖν ἂ οἱ θεοὶ ὑφήγηνται ἀγαθὰ εἰς οἰκειότητα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μάταιά ποτε ποιήσητε, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖτε ἄλλα φιλικὰ ἔργα· καὶ οὕτως ἀεὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος ἄλλοις ἔσται ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλία. ἐαυτοῦ τοι κήδεται ὁ προνοῶν ἀδελφοῦ· τίς γὰρ ἄλλω ἀδελφὸς μέγας ὢν οὕτω καλὸν ὥς ἀδελφῷ; τίς δ' ἄλλος τιμῆσεται δι' ἄνδρα μέγα δυνάμενον οὕτως ὥς ἀδελφός; τίνα δὲ φοβήσεται τις ἀδικεῖν ἀδελ-
- 16 φοῦ μεγάλου ὄντος οὕτως ὥς τὸν ἀδελφόν; μήτε οὖν θᾶπτον μηδεὶς σου τούτῳ ὑπακουέτω μήτε προθυμότερον παρέστω· οὐδενὶ γὰρ οἰκειότερα τὰ τούτου οὔτε ἀγαθὰ οὔτε δεινὰ ἢ σοί. ἐννόει δὲ καὶ τάδε· τίς χαρισάμενος ἐλπίσαις ἂν μειζόνων τυχεῖν ἢ τούτῳ; τίς δ' ἂν βοηθήσας ἰσχυρότερον σύμμαχον ἀντιλάβοις; τίνα δ' αἰσχιον μὴ φιλεῖν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν; τίνα δὲ ἀπάντων κάλλιον προτιμᾶν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν; μόνου τοι, ὦ Καμβύση, πρωτεύοντος ἀδελφοῦ παρ' ἀδελφῷ οὐδὲ φθόνος παρὰ
- 17 τῶν ἄλλων ἀφικνεῖται. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶων, ὦ παῖδες, τιμᾶτε ἀλλήλους, εἴ τι καὶ τοῦ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι μέλει ὑμῖν· οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι ὥς οὐδέν εἰμι ἐγὼ ἔτι, ἐπαιδὰν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτήσω· οὐδὰ γὰρ νῦν τοι τὴν γ' ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐωρᾶτε, ἀλλ' οἷς διεπράττετο, τοῦ-
- 18 τοις αὐτῇ ὥς οὔσαν κατεφωρᾶτε. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄδικα

παθόντων ψυχὰς οὐπω κατενοήσατε οἷους μὲν φό-
 βους τοῖς μαιφόνοις ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἷους δὲ παλαμ-
 ναίους τοῖς ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσι; τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις
 τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἔτι ἂν δοκεῖτε, εἰ μηδενὸς αὐ-
 τῶν αἰ ψυχὰς κύριαι ἦσαν; οὗτοι ἔγωγε, ὦ παῖδες, 19
 οὐδὲ τοῦτο πώποτε ἐπείσθην ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ ἔως μὲν ἂν
 ἐν θνητῷ σώματι ᾖ, ζῇ, ὅταν δὲ τούτου ἀπαλλαγῇ,
 τέθνηκεν· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὅσον
 ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς χρόνον ᾖ ἡ ψυχὴ, ζῶντα παρέχεται.
 οὐδέ γε ὅπως ἄφρων ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐπειδὴν τοῦ 20
 ἄφρονος σώματος δίχα γένηται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πέπει-
 σμαι· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐκ-
 κριθῇ, τότε καὶ φρονιμώτατον εἰκὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι.
 διαλυομένου δὲ ἀνθρώπου δηλὰ ἐστὶν ἕκαστα ἀπι-
 όντα πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον, πλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς· αὕτη δὲ
 μόνη οὔτε παροῦσα οὔτε ἀπιοῦσα ὁράται. ἐννοή- 21
 σατε δ', ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
 θανάτῳ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὕπνου· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 ψυχὴ τότε δήπου θειοτάτη καταφαίνεται καὶ τότε
 τι τῶν μελλόντων προορᾷ· τότε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, μά-
 λιστα ἐλευθεροῦται. εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα 22
 ὥσπερ ἐγὼ οἶμαι, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καταλείπει τὸ σῶμα,
 καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι ποιεῖτε ἃ ἐγὼ
 δέομαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν
 τῷ σώματι συναποθνήσκει, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς γε τοὺς αἰεὶ
 ὄντας καὶ πάντ' ἐφορῶντας καὶ πάντα δυναμένους,
 οἳ καὶ τήνδε τὴν τῶν ὄλων τάξιν συνέχουσιν ἀτρι-
 βῇ καὶ ἀγήρατον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ὑπὸ κάλ-
 λους καὶ μεγέθους ἀδιήγητον, τούτους φοβούμενοι
 μήποτε ἀσεβεῖς μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόσιον μήτε ποιή-

- 23 σῆτε μήτε βουλεύσητε. μετὰ μέντοι θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένος τὸ αἰεὶ ἐπιγυγνόμενον αἰδεῖσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἐν σκότῳ ὑμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ' ἐμφανῇ πᾶσιν ἀνάγκη αἰεὶ ζῆν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔργα· ἃ ἦν μὲν καθαρὰ καὶ ἔξω τῶν ἀδίκων φαίνηται, δυνατοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναδείξει· εἰ δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀδικόν τι φρονήσετε, ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι ἀποβαλεῖτε. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἔτι πιστεῦσαι δύναίτο ὑμῖν, οὐδ' εἰ πάννυ προθυμοῖτο, ἰδὼν ἀδικούμενον
- 24 τὸν μάλιστα φίλῃ προσήκοντα. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς διδάσκω οἷους χρὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε· αὕτη γὰρ ἀρίστη διδασκαλία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διαγεγένηνται φίλοι μὲν γονεῖς παισὶ, φίλοι δὲ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφοῖς· ἤδη δὲ τινες τούτων καὶ ἐναντία ἀλλήλους ἔπραξαν· ὅποτέροις ἂν οὖν αἰσθάνησθε τὰ πραχθέντα συνενεγκόντα, ταῦτα δὴ αἰ-
- 25 ρούμενοι ὀρθῶς ἂν βουλεύοισθε. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἴσως ἤδη αἴλις. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν σῶμα, ὦ παῖδες, ὅταν τελευτήσω, μήτε ἐν χρυσῷ θῆτε μήτε ἐν ἀργύρῳ μήτε ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ὡς τάχιστα ἀπόδοτε. τί γὰρ τούτου μακαριώτερον τοῦ γῇ μιχθῆναι ἢ πάντα μὲν τὰ καλὰ πάντα δὲ τὰ γαθὰ φύει τε καὶ τρέφει; ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλάνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ νῦν ἡδέως ἄν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ εὐεργε-
- 26 τούντος ἀνθρώπου. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη, ἔφη, ἐκλειπεῖν μοι φαίνεται ἡ ψυχὴ ὁθενπερ ὧς ἔοικε πᾶσιν ἄρχεται ἀπολείπουσα. εἴ τις οὖν ὑμῶν ἡ δεξιὰς βούλεται τῆς ἐμῆς ἄψασθαι ἢ ὄμμα τοῦμόν ζῶντος ἔτι

προσιδεῖν ἐθέλει προσίτω· ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ ἐγκαλύψω-
μαι, αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες, μηδεὶς ἔτ' ἀνθρώπων
τοῦμὸν σῶμα ἰδέτω, μηδ' αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς. Πέρσας μὲν- 27
τοι πάντας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ-
μὸν παρακαλεῖτε συνησθησομένους ἑμοὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ
ἰσφαλεῖ ἤδη ἔσομαι, ὥς μηδὲν ἂν ἔτι κακὸν πα-
θεῖν, μήτε ἦν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γένωμαι μήτε ἦν μηδὲν
ἔτι ὦ· ὅπόσοι δ' ἂν ἔλθωσι, τούτους εὖ ποιήσαντες
ὅποσα ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ εὐδαίμονι νομίζεται ἀποπέμπετε.
καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, μέμνησθέ μου τελευταῖον, τοὺς 28
φίλους εὐεργετοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δυνήσεσθε
κολάζειν. καὶ χαίρετε, ὦ φίλοι παῖδες, καὶ τῇ
μητρὶ ἀπαγγέλλετε ὥς παρ' ἑμοῦ· καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ
παρόντες καὶ οἱ ἀπόντες φίλοι χαίρετε. ταῦτ'
εἰπὼν καὶ πάντας δεξιωσάμενος συνεκαλύψατο καὶ
οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

[VIII.]

[Degeneration of Persia after Cyrus' death.]

ὍΤΙ μὲν δὴ καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἢ
ἢ Κύρου βασιλείᾳ ἐγένετο αὐτῇ ἑαυτῇ μαρτυρεῖ.
ὠρίσθη μὲν πρὸς ἑω μὲν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάττῃ, πρὸς
ἄρκτον δὲ τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ
Κύπρῳ καὶ Αἰγύπτῳ, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιο-
πία. τοσαύτη δὲ γενομένη μᾶλλον γνώμῃ τῇ Κύρου
ἐκυβερνᾶτο, καὶ ἐκεῖνός τε τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ὥσπερ
ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἐτίμα τε καὶ ἐθεράπευεν, οἳ τε ἄρ-
χόμενοι Κύρον ὥς πατέρα ἐσέβοντο. ἐπεὶ μέντοι 2
Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν, εὐθὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες

ἔστασσίαζον, εὐθὺς δὲ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη ἀφίσταντο,
 πάντα δ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐτρέπετο. ὥς δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω
 ἄρξομαι διδάσκων ἐκ τῶν θείων. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι
 πρότερον μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς τὰ
 ἔσχατα πεποιηκόσιν εἴτε ὄρκους ὁμόσειαν, ἡμπέ-
 3 δουν, εἴτε δεξιὰς δοῖεν, ἐβεβαίουν. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτοι
 ἦσαν καὶ τοιαύτην δόξαν εἶχον, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ νῦν
 πιστεύει οὐδὲ εἰς ἔτι, ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσται ἡ ἀσέβεια αὐ-
 τῶν, οὕτως οὐδὲ τότε ἐπίστευσαν ἂν οἱ τῶν σὺν
 Κύρῳ ἀναβάντων στρατηγοί· νῦν δὲ τῇ πρόσθεν
 αὐτῶν δόξῃ πιστεύσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν ἑαυτούς, καὶ
 ἀναχθέντες πρὸς βασιλέα ἀπειμήθησαν τὰς κε-
 φαλάς. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συστρατευσάντων βαρ-
 βάρων, ἄλλοι ἄλλαις πίστεσιν ἐξαπατηθέντες,
 ἀπώλοντο. πολὺ δὲ καὶ τάδε χεῖρονες νῦν εἰσι.
 4 πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ εἴ τις ἢ διακινδυνεύσειε πρὸ
 βασιλέως ἢ πόλιν ἢ ἔθνος ὑποχείριον ποιήσειεν ἢ
 ἄλλο τι καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ διαπράξειεν, οὗτοι
 ἦσαν οἱ τιμώμενοι· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἦν τις ὥσπερ Μιθρι-
 δάτης τὸν πατέρα Ἀριοβαρζάνην προδοῦς, καὶ ἦν τις
 ὥσπερ Ῥεομίθρης τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ
 τοὺς τῶν φίλων παῖδας ὁμήρους παρὰ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ
 ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους ὄρκους παραβὰς
 βασιλεῖ δόξῃ τι σύμφορον ποιῆσαι, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ
 5 ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς γεραίρόμενοι. ταῦτα οὖν
 ὁρῶντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ
 τὸ ἄδικον τετραμμένοι εἰσίν. ὅποιοί τινες γὰρ ἂν
 οἱ προστάται ὧσι τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐπὶ
 τὸ πολὺ γίνονται. ἀθεμιστότεροι δὲ νῦν ἢ πρό-
 σθεν ταύτῃ γεγέννηται.

εἰς γε μὴν δὴ χρήματα τῇδε ἀδικιότεροι· οὐ γὰρ 6
μόνον τοὺς πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκότας ἀλλὰ ἤδη τοὺς οὐ-
δὲν ἡδίκηκότας συλλαμβάνοντες ἀναγκάζουσι πρὸς
οὐδὲν δίκαιον χρήματα ἀποτίνειν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡτ-
τον οἱ πολλὰ ἔχειν δοκοῦντες τῶν πολλὰ ἡδίκηκό-
των φοβούνται. καὶ εἰς χεῖρας οὐδ' οὔτοι ἐθέλουσι
τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἵεναι, οὐδέ γε ἀθροίζεσθαι εἰς βασι-
λικὴν στρατιὰν θαρροῦσι. τοιγαροῦν ὅστις ἂν
πολεμῇ αὐτοῖς πᾶσιw ἔξεστιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν
ἀναστρέφεσθαι ἄνευ μάχης ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται διὰ 7
τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ μὲν θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν περὶ δὲ ἀν-
θρώπους ἀδικίαν. αἱ μὲν δὴ γινῶμαι ταύτῃ τῷ παντὶ
χεῖρους νῦν ἢ τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῶν.

ὥς δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμέλονται ὥσπερ 8
πρόσθεν, νῦν αὖ τοῦτο διηγῆσομαι. νόμιμον γὰρ
δὴ ἦν αὐτοῖς μήτε πτύειν μήτε ἀπομύττεσθαι.
δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ τοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑγροῦ
φειδόμενοι ἐνόμισαν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι διὰ πόνων
καὶ ἰδρώτος τὰ σώματα στερεοῦσθαι. νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν
μὴ πτύειν μηδὲ ἀπομύττεσθαι ἔτι διαμένει, τὸ δ'
ἐκπονεῖν οὐδαμοῦ ἐπιτηδεύεται. καὶ μὴν πρόσθεν 9
μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς μονοσιτεῖν νόμιμον, ὅπως ὅλη τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ χρῶντο καὶ εἰς τὰς πράξεις καὶ εἰς τὸ
διαπονεῖσθαι· νῦν γε μὴν τὸ μὲν μονοσιτεῖν ἔτι
διαμένει, ἀρχόμενοι δὲ τοῦ σίτου ἡνίκα περ οἱ
πρφαίτατα ἀριστῶντες, μέχρι τούτου ἐσθίοντες καὶ
πίνοντες διάγουσιν ἔσπερ οἱ ὀψιαίτατα κοιμώ-
μενοι.

ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς νόμιμον μηδὲ προχοῖδας εἰσφέρει- 10
σθαι εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, δῆλον ὅτι νομίζοντες τὸ μὴ

ὑπερπίνειν ἤττον ἂν καὶ σώματα καὶ γνώμας σφάλλειν· νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴ εἰσφέρεισθαι ἔτι αὖ διαμένει, τοσοῦτον δὲ πίνουσιν ὥστε ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσφέρειν αὐτοὶ ἐκφέρονται, ἐπειδὴν μηκέτι δύνωνται ὀρθούμενοι ἐξίεναι.

11 ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεῖνο ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχωριον τὸ μεταξὺ πορευομένους μήτε ἐσθίειν μήτε πίνειν μήτε τῶν διὰ ταῦτα ἀναγκαίων μηδὲν ποιούντας φανεροὺς εἶναι· νῦν δ' αὖ τὸ μὲν τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι ἔτι διαμένει, τὰς μέντοι πορείας οὕτω βραχείας ποιούνται ὥς μηδὲν' ἂν ἔτι θαυμάσαι τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

12 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν πρόσθεν μὲν τοσαυτάκις ἐξῆσαν ὥστε ἀρκεῖν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἵπποις γυμνάσια τὰς θήρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἤττους τοῦ οἴνου ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ὁμοίως οὕτ' αὐτοὶ ἐξῆσαν οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ-τινες φιλόπονοι γένοιντο, καὶ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἵππεῦσι θαμὰ θηρῶεν, φθονοῦντες αὐτοῖς δῆλοι ἦσαν καὶ ὥς βελτίονας αὐτῶν ἐμίσουν.

13 ἀλλὰ τοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὸ μὲν παιδεύεσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔτι διαμένει· τὸ μέντοι τὰ ἵππικὰ μανθάνειν καὶ μελετᾶν ἀπέσβηκε, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ὅπου ἂν ἀποφαινόμενοι εὐδοκιμοῖεν. καὶ ὅτι γε οἱ παῖδες ἀκούοντες ἐκεῖ πρόσθεν τὰς δίκας δικαίως διακαζόμενας ἐδόκουν μανθάνειν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἀνέστραπται· σαφῶς γὰρ ὁρῶσι νικῶν-

14 τας ὁπότεροι ἂν πλείον διαδῶσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φυομένων ἐκ τῆς γῆς τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ παῖδες πρό-

σθεν μὲν ἐμάνθανον, ὅπως τοῖς μὲν ὠφελίμοις
 χρῶντο τῶν δὲ βλαβερῶν ἀπέχοντο· νῦν δὲ
 ἐοίκασι ταῦτα διδασκομένοις, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστα
 κακοποιῶσιν· οὐδαμοῦ γοῦν πλείους ἢ ἐκεῖ οὔτε
 ἀποθνήσκουσιν οὔτε διαφθείρονται ὑπὸ φαρμάκων.

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θρυπτικώτεροι πολὺ νῦν ἢ ἐπὶ 15
 Κύρου εἰσὶ. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἔτι τῇ ἐκ Περσῶν
 παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖᾳ ἐχρῶντο, τῇ δὲ Μήδων στολῇ
 καὶ ἀβρότῃ· νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν καρτερίαν
 περιορῶσιν ἀποσβεννυμένην, τὴν δὲ τῶν Μήδων
 μαλακίαν διασώζονται. σαφηνίσαι δὲ βούλομαι 16
 καὶ τὴν θρύψιν αὐτῶν. ἐκείνοις γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν
 τὰς εὐνάς οὐ μόνον ἀρκεῖ μαλακῶς ὑποστόρνυσθαι,
 ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν κλινῶν τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ ταπίων
 τιθέασιν, ὅπως μὴ ἀντερεῖδῃ τὸ δάπεδον, ἀλλ'
 ὑπέικωσιν αἱ τάπιδες. καὶ μὴν τὰ πεττόμενα ἐπὶ
 τράπεζαν ὅσα τε πρόσθεν εὔρητο οὐδὲν αὐτῶν
 ἀφῆρηται, ἀλλὰ τε αἰεὶ καινὰ ἐπιμηχανῶνται· καὶ
 ὄψα γε ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ καινοποιητὰς ἀμφοτέρων
 τούτων κέκτηνται. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι οὐ 17
 μόνον κεφαλὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ πόδας ἀρκεῖ αὐτοῖς
 ἐσκεπάσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἄκραις ταῖς χερσὶ
 χειρῖδας δισειάς καὶ δακτυλήθρας ἔχουσιν. ἐν γε
 μὴν τῷ θέρει οὐκ ἀρκοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οὔθ' αἱ τῶν
 δένδρων οὔθ' αἱ τῶν πετρῶν σκιαί, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύταις
 ἐτέρας σκιάς ἄνθρωποι μηχανώμενοι αὐτοῖς παρ-
 εστᾶσι. καὶ μὴν ἐκπώματα ἦν μὲν ὡς πλείστα 18
 ἔχουσι, τούτῳ καλλωπίζονται· ἦν δ' ἐξ ἀδίκου φανε-
 ρῶς ἢ μεμηχανημένα, οὐδὲν τοῦτο αἰσχύνονται· πο-
 λὺ γὰρ ἠϋξῆται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀδικία τε καὶ αἰσχροκέρ-
 δεια.

- 19 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν ἦν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῖς μὴ
 ὀρᾶσθαι πεζῇ πορευομένοις, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἕνεκα
 ἢ τοῦ ὥς ἵππικωτάτους γίγνεσθαι· νῦν δὲ στρώ-
 ματα πλείω ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν
 εὐνῶν· οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἵππείας οὕτως ὥσπερ τοῦ μα-
 20 λακῶς καθῆσθαι ἐπιμέλονται. τά γε μὴν πολεμικὰ
 πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως νῦν τῷ παντὶ χείρους ἢ πρόσθεν
 εἰσίν; οἷς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ ἐπιχώριον
 εἶναι ὑπῆρχε τοὺς μὲν τὴν γῆν ἔχοντας ἀπὸ ταύτης
 ἵππότας παρέχεσθαι, οἳ δὴ καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο, τοὺς
 δὲ φρουροῦντας πρὸ τῆς χώρας μισθοφόρους εἶναι·
 νῦν δὲ τοὺς τε θυρωροὺς καὶ τοὺς σιτοποιοὺς καὶ
 τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ οἶνοχόους καὶ λουτροχόους καὶ
 παρατιθέντας καὶ ἀναιρῶντας καὶ κατακοιμίζοντας
 καὶ ἀνιστάντας καὶ τοὺς κοσμητὰς οἳ ὑποχρίουσιν
 τε καὶ ἐντρίβουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰλλα ῥυθμίζουσι,
 τούτους πάντας ἵππείας οἳ δυνάσται πεποιήκασιν,
 21 ὅπως μισθοφορῶσιν αὐτοῖς. πλήθος μὲν οὖν καὶ
 ἐκ τούτων φαίνεται, οὐ μέντοι ὄφελός γε οὐδὲν
 αὐτῶν εἰς πόλεμον· δημοῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γιγνό-
 μενα· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ῥᾶον οἳ πολέμιοι
 22 ἢ οἳ φίλοι ἀναστρέφονται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦ
 μὲν ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀποπαύσας, θωρακίσας δὲ καὶ
 αὐτοὺς καὶ ἵππους, καὶ ἐν παλτὸν ἐκάστῳ δούς εἰς
 χεῖρα, ὁμόθεν τὴν μάχην ἐποιεῖτο· νῦν δὲ οὔτε ἀκ-
 23 ροβολίζονται ἔτι οὔτ' εἰς χεῖρας συνιόντες μάχονται.
 24 καὶ οἳ πεζοὶ ἔχουσιν μὲν γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ
 σαγάρεις, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Κύρου, τὴν μάχην ποιησό-
 24 μενοι· εἰς χεῖρας δὲ ἵεναι οὐδ' οὗτοι ἐθέλουσιν. οὐδέ
 γε τοῖς δρεπανηφόροις ἅμασι· ἔτι χρώνται, ἐφ' ᾧ

Κῦρος αὐτὰ ἐποιήσατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τιμαῖς αὐξήσας τοὺς ἡνιόχους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ποιήσας εἶχε τοὺς εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ἐμβαλοῦντας· οἱ δὲ νῦν οὐδὲ γυγνώσκοντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασιν οἷονται σφίσιν ὁμόλους τοὺς ἀνασκήτους τοῖς ἡσκηκόσιν ἕσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ὁρμῶσι 25 μὲν, πρὶν δ' ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι, οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες ἐκπίπτουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐξάλλονται· ὥστ' ἄνευ ἡνιόχων γιγνόμενα τὰ ζεύγη πολλάκις πλείω κακὰ τοὺς φίλους ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ 26 αὐτοὶ γυγνώσκουσιν οἷα σφίσι τὰ πολεμιστήρια ὑπάρχει, ὑφίστανται, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἄνευ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταται, οὔτε ὅταν ἀλλήλοις πολεμῶσιν οὔτε ὅταν οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτοῖς ἀντιστρατεύωνται· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἐγνώκασι μεθ' Ἑλλήνων τοὺς πολέμους ποιεῖσθαι.

ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ οἶμαι ἅπερ ὑπεθέμην ἀπειργάσθαι 27 μοι. φημὶ γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀσεβεστέρους περὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνοσιωτέρους περὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδικωτέρους περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ ἀνανδροτέρους τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι· εἰ δέ τις τὰ ἐναντία ἐμοὶ γυγνώσκει, τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶν εὐρήσει αὐτὰ μαρτυροῦντα τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις.]



NOTES

BOOK VII.

*For the Context, and the Proper Names in the Narrative,
see Introduction, I.*

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. προσήνεγκαν...ἐμπιεῖν καὶ φαγεῖν. 'Brought some slight bite and sup.' The infinitive in cases like this (cf. Cicero's '*ministrare Jovi bibere*,' Tusc. i. 25, 65), seems to be a real object to the main verb of the sentence, and to have rather a sense of potentiality than of actualization. Thus δοῦναι τῷ πρὶν, *dare alicui bibere*, will mean 'to give a man possibility-of-drinking.' As to the force of the preposition in ἐμπιεῖν, a consideration of other passages in Xenophon where ἐν is similarly compounded certainly contradicts the interpretation of Liddell and Scott, 'to drink (or with φαγεῖν, "to eat") one's fill'; and points rather to the sense of haste or brevity as the right one. The most conclusive passage is Anabasis, iv. 5, 8; some of Xenophon's men are falling out of the ranks from abnormal hunger, which can be relieved ἐν τι φάγωσι, 'by the administration of a little food'; this is hurriedly supplied from scanty stores, and the sufferers, ἐπειδὴ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, 'after eating a little,' rejoin the march. Cf. also Cyrop. viii. 1, 44, ἔστε ἐμφάγοιεν τι, where the τι makes the sense of 'eating one's fill' impossible. On the analogy, then, of ἐμφαγεῖν, ἐμπιεῖν (which seems only to occur here in Xenophon), will mean 'to drink a little,' or 'to drink hastily': and this suits the context, ἔτι οὐσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερὰ, very well. The ἐν probably extends its force to the following φαγεῖν (= ἐμφαγεῖν), as the ἐν does to φέρω in Sophocles' καὶ ξυμμετίσχω καὶ φέρω (= ξυμφέρω) τῆς αἰτίας, Antig. 537.

ὡσπερ εἶχεν. 'Just as he was.' This phrase, serving as introduction to an immediate sequence (in Thucydides, viii. 41, 3, it is strengthened by εὐθὺς...ἀναγκάζεται) ὡσπερ εἶχε πλεῖν εὐθύς, im-

plies that certain additions, which might have been expected, to the circumstances hitherto narrated about anyone are not made. The construction may be regarded as an abbreviated form of that with which a genitive is found (*ὅσπερ ἔχει δόξης [ἡ δικαιοσύνη]*, Plato, Rep. 612 D); and there is no need to call the *ἔχειν* intransitive.

ἀπαρξάμενος. 'First making an offering' of the food, as *σείσας* in the next sentence is 'pouring a libation' of the drink to the gods. Xenophon is probably here, as in ii. 3, 1, transferring Greek customs to the Persians. Herodotus in i. 132 tells us that the Persians used no libations; and the action of Xerxes (Hdt. vii. 54) is not a real libation.

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δέ. 'And (not only he but) the others too.' This collocation is particularly frequent in Xenophon: the *καὶ* has its proper force of an emphatic copula, and the *δέ* (etymologically connected with *δύο*, *δεύτερος*,) marks the person or action to which it is subjoined as *second* only in importance to the subject of the main clause, and thus, occasionally, in opposition or contrast to that subject. Xenophon, however, most often uses it as intensive. Cf. iii. 3, 44: the Assyrian king warns his men that they are fighting *περὶ ψυχῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων, καὶ περὶ γῆς ἐν ᾗ ἔφυτε καὶ περὶ οἰκῶν ἐν οἷς ἐτράφητε, καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν δέ καὶ τέκνων*. 'yes, and more than that, for your wives and children too.'

Δία πατῖνον. Both Herodotus and Xenophon present the Persian gods under Greek names: by Zeus here is meant the Persian Ormuzd, the spirit of light and goodness. A *θεὸς πατῖνος* is tutelar god of a people regarded as one great family; Apollo is *θ. π.* to the Athenians *διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἴωνος γένεσιν*, as having begotten Ion, the mythical ancestor of the Ionian race (Plat. Euthyd. 302 D).

ἐκέλευσεν. ἀναβαίνειν sc.

§ 2. *τοῖς αὐτοῖς Κύρῳ δπλοῖς*. 'With the same arms as Cyrus': *δ αὐτὸς* taking the dative construction found with adjectives of resemblance; cf. Lucretius 'eadem aliis sopitus quiesce,' 'sunk in the same slumber as others' (iii. 1038).

τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα. παραμηρίδια belongs to the predicate: 'and these same served as cuisses to the rider as well.' This economy of armour is expressly mentioned in Xenophon's treatise *περὶ ἵππικῆς*, xii. 8, quoted by Hertlein. The *παραμηρίδια* must have projected on either side of the horse.

τῷ χρυσοειδεῖ χρώμ. 'With the (ordinary) gold-colour.' What this may have been is uncertain; perhaps orpiment (*auri*

pigmentum), yellow sulphuret of arsenic, which is mentioned by Pliny (N. H. xxxiii. 4) as a painters' colour.

§ 3. βροντή δεξιᾷ. In Greek augury, the traditions of which Xenophon here transfers to the Persians, the observer looked towards the north; the east and west quarters on his right and left hand were the sources of good and evil signs respectively. Cf. *Odyssee* ii. 154; *Iliad* xii. 239.

ὁρμάτο μὲν. This is the order of the words in the best MSS.; the transference of μὲν after ἐν is due to Dindorf. The μὲν really goes in sense both with ὁρμάτο and with ἐν δεξιᾷ: it contrasts ὁρμάτο with παρηγγύησε, and ἐν δεξιᾷ with ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. The collocation may be compared with the ὡς μὲν τινες ἔφασαν of v. 2, 28; where ὡς ἔφασαν is contrasted with ὡς λέγει, and τινες with οὗτος, in a following clause.

§ 4. ἐν ἴσῳ. 'Evenly.' Cf. ἐν εὐμαρεῖ, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ.

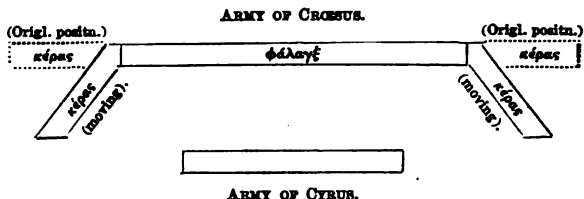
ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς...ἀνατεταμένος. 'A golden eagle with spread wings.' Quintus Curtius (iii. 3, 16) describes what apparently was Darius' standard as *auream aquilam pinnas extendenti similem*; Xenophon uses ἀνατείνειν in the sense of 'spreading out' in sections 6 and 23 of this chapter, and Pindar has it of 'spreading' sails in *Nem.* 5, 51. The place of the word, also, favours its having a more special meaning than merely 'raised' ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ: the three last words by themselves would be enough to express that.

εἰς τρίς. 'As many as three times.' Cf. the Latin use of *ad* with numerals, expressing the point of number up to which a statement extends.

§ 5. ἔγνωσαν...ὁπερφαλαγγοῦντες. 'Perceived themselves to be outflanking.' Cf. Jelf, 683.

στήσαντες...μάχονται. It seems best to take φάλαγγα as 'the centre,' and ἐπέκαμπτον neutrally, 'began to wheel round.' The alternative is to take φάλαγγα as 'the whole advancing line,' and ἐπέκαμπτον actively, 'began to wheel it (i.e. its two extremities) round.' In either case, the sense is as follows: 'They halted their main body (this being always necessary to a surrounding manœuvre), and then began to wheel the wings round so as to hem in the Persians, giving their own line the form of a gamma at either end, with the view of attacking on all three sides simultaneously.' κυκλοῦσθαι is middle here, as it is most frequently; and the insertion of this remark εὐ...κυκλοῦσθαι is explained when we consider that if the centre continued to advance while the wings were wheeling round, it would be offering itself, thus weakened, to attack. The gamma to which the τάξις is compared is, of course, a capital gamma, and the force of

ἐκατέρωθεν may be brought out by saying that the centre, together with its wheeling wings, resembled two gammas laid foot to foot, thus:—



πάντοθεν. Except from behind, as is said in section 24.

§ 6. ὁσαύτως. 'In just the same order' as he had begun.

ὡς πρόσω...κέρατα. 'At what a distance (from their centre) both ways they made the turning-point round which they were wheeling in this extension of the wings.' Those extremities of Croesus' phalanx which outflanked Cyrus' army (τὰ ὑπερέχοντα, as Xenophon calls them in describing similar evolutions, Hellen. iv. 2, 21) left the main body, and moved away to right and left of it. While thus moving, their side would be presented to the Persians. When they had gone some considerable distance they wheeled round (κἀμπύοντες) so that they faced the Persians, and then moved, in column, towards the Persian flanks; thus extending (ἀνέτεινον) the κέρατα,—making what had previously been the extremities of a straight line bend and stretch out like claws towards the enemy.

§ 7. οἱ ἑτεροὶ τοῦς ἑτέροις. i.e. centre and wings.

ἡνίκα...προσίσιν. 'As soon as the wings now advancing in column get opposite the flanks of our army, they will turn and form front and move upon us from all sides at once.'

With γένηται κατ' ἀντιπέρας cf. Herodotus' ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γόνδῳ ποταμῷ, 'arrived at the Gyndes,' i. 189.—ἀναβαίνειν seems to have the same force as ἄνω πορεύεσθαι in section 23, 'moving forward' merely (which naturally would be 'in column') as opposed to 'moving against' an enemy, which would be done in line.—στραφέντες, referring to the κέρατα as men. Cf. Jelf, 379 b.—ὡς εἰς φάλαγγα=ὡς στραφείεν ἂν εἰς φάλαγγα, '(turning) as they would turn for the formation of a phalanx.'—προσίσιν in sense includes the centre as well as the wings; the attack will be made πάντοθεν; but as the κέρατα and their evolutions (στραφέντες) are the more immediate subject of discourse, the grammatical reference of the verb is made to them.

§ 8. πρὸς γε ἃ ὁρᾷσι. 'Yes, to meet what they see.' Cf. the similar use of *ad* in Latin: '*ad famam belli novas legiones scribere*' (Liv., vi. 27).

ἃ οὐχ ὁρᾷσιν. i.e. the camels and the reserves drawn up behind the baggage-waggons, as described in vi. 8, 31.

κατὰ κέρας. 'In column,' as opposed to ἐπὶ φάλαγγες, in line. Formation in column is characterised in section 22 as that in which ἀσθενέστατον στράτευμα γίγνεται: but even this formation, Cyrus says, would have been better for the Assyrians than a long thin line, which presented still more opportunity for attack to the unseen reserves.

ἐν ἴσῳ τούτῳ. 'Evenly with him' (i.e. Arsamas), *pari cum hoc gradu*.

§ 9. παιᾶνα. Another transference of Greek usages. All tradition connects the word with the name of Apollo as Healer, Παιᾶν, forming the burden of the chant, and, in its earliest use, the chant appears to have been one of thanksgiving. It subsequently was differentiated into the two kinds mentioned by the scholiast on Thucydides (i. 50 and iv. 43), that before battle invoking Ares, and that after victory giving thanks to Apollo.

ἔχομένους...ἀρμάτων. 'Keeping as close as possible to the chariots.' Cf. Herodotus' common use of ἔχεσθαι with genitive, of buildings touching, or nations bordering on each other.

ἢ ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα. *Qua celerrime possim*. Abbreviated from ταύτῃ ἢ ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα = 'in that (way) in which I may be able [to pursue] most swiftly.'

§ 10. σύνθημα. The same watchword is given by Cyrus in iii. 3, 58; but that Xenophon here again is introducing a custom foreign to the Persians is clear from the often quoted place in the Anabasis (i. 8, 16), where the younger Cyrus is surprised at the to him novel sound of the watchword (Ζεὺς σωτήρ καὶ νίκη) passing from man to man among the Greek contingent. One main object of the σύνθημα, as may be seen from Herodotus, ix. 98, was to enable the men to know friend from foe.

ὁπότε προσβλέψει. 'Whenever he looked at.' Cf. Jelf, 843, 2, obs.

εἶπεν ἄν. 'He would say.' Cf. Jelf, as in preceding note, and 855 β.

§ 11. τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε. 'For all time henceforth.' τὸ is accusative of extent.

ἀλλ' ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενώμεθα. This is Cobet's conjecture for the MS.-reading ἀλλ', ὃ ἄνδρες, ἀγαθοὶ γενώμεθα: the objec-

tion to which is, as he states, that *ἀγαθοὶ γένομεθα* would have no meaning in Greek. Hertlein quotes three passages of Xenophon against him; but they being all in the 3rd person are hardly parallel to this; and the emendation commands itself by its simplicity. *ἀλλὰ* has something of its adversative force (like the French *mais*) even in collocations like the present. 'But why should I say more? the sum of the matter is that we should show ourselves true men.'

§ 12. κατ' ἄλλους. γινόμενος sc., as in section 15, κατὰ Ἄβρ. ἐγένετο.

§ 13. ἐκὼν εἶναι. 'If I can help it.' Cf. Jelf, 679, 3.

προσήσομαι. *Admittam in me*, 'allow myself to do.'

§ 15. ὥσπερ σὺ ἤξλους. 'As you claimed.' Abradatas had originally offered to take up this position in front of the phalanx (vi. 3, 36); the other chariot-commanders had insisted on the matter being settled by lot: and the lot fell upon Abradatas.

§ 16. παντοδαπῇ στρατιᾷ. 'With troops of all arms.' ἡσχυνόμην ἄν. 'I should have been feeling shame.' Cf. Jelf, 424a; and for the use of ἄν, 685, obs.

§ 17. διαμαρτύρομαι. 'I adjure you.'

τοιαῦτα... ἦν. Forming a parenthesis of remark by Xenophon; Cyrus' speech continues with *ὅταν μέντοι*.

χρήσαιο. 'Find.' Like *utor* in Terence's '*Mihi si umquam filius erit, ne ille facili me utetur patre*' (Haut. ii. 1, 5).

§ 18. ὥπως... φανείσθε. Epexegetic of φιλονικίαν, 'the ambition of showing yourselves.' Cf. Jelf, 811.

§ 19. ἔργον. 'Some employment' for—.

ὥπως... σχολάζωσι. 'So that they may not have an idle time of it either.' *οἱ* are the Assyrian wings, which Hytaspas would like to see 'assigned' (*πρόστατον*) to some one, for fear their superior numbers should enable them to conquer at their ease, *σχολάζοντες*.

πρὸς τὸ μαχόμενον δεῖ συμβάλλωμεν. 'We must, in all cases, engage whatever force is still combatant.' A Persian commander, if victorious in his own part of the field, is to turn his attention to any other quarter in which there may still be resistance. *συμβάλλειν πρὸς* can hardly be taken, with Breitenbach, as meaning 'to bring aid to,' which is a sense belonging to the middle *συμβάλλεσθαι*. The verb is frequently used, with dative, in the sense of 'combatting': and *πρὸς* with the accusative here seems to have the sense of direction: '*in the direction of*' τὸ μαχόμενον.

§ 21. ἔγὼ δὲ ἔρχομαι. 'Yes, I am coming.' The δὲ answers an implied appeal. Cf. Jelf, 768, 4.

κατ' ἄκρον. 'At the farthest point,' from you sc. Cyrus is now on the left flank of his army, and in section 28 takes up his own position for attack on its right flank.

§ 22. κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. 'Opposite our right.' κατὰ stands with accusative, as there is a sense of previous motion: τοῖς (τεταγμένοις) κατὰ τ. δ. κ.

μαχεῖσθε. The reserves under Artagereses and Pharnuchus will fall in line (φάλαγγας ἔχοντες) upon the Assyrians' flank (πρὸς κέρας). ὅσπερ = *quomodo*, 'in the way in which.'

§ 25. πάντες. All, that is, on the right and left wings.

συνεπήχησε. 'Took up the chant.' Xenophon's expressions in iii. 8, 58 imply that the psalm was regarded as a kind of consecration of themselves to the gods by the singers.

§ 26. Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐπηλόλασαν. ἐνυάλιος in the Iliad is either an epithet or an equivalent of Ares, and is probably to be taken so here. The word is properly adjectival from Ἐνύω, the war-goddess of Iliad, v. 888, and hence the later view that Enyalios is son of Enyo. The preposition prefixed to the onomatopoeic ἀλαλέω (ἀλαλή) marks the repetition of the shout or its being taken up by rank after rank.

ἔξανίσταται. *Brumprit*, 'breaks forth.' The active is often used in the sense of making men rise from a covered position; here the change is from rest to activity.

τὴν ταχίστην. Cf. Jelf, 558, 1.

περιεπτόσσοντο. 'Began to outflank.'

§ 27. ἐξήλλοντο. 'Began to rear.' Cf. Nepos' *exultare* in the same sense (Eumenes, v. 5). Herodotus (i. 80) gives the further detail that horses cannot bear the smell of camels: this may explain the *ἐκ πάντων πολλοῦ*.

§ 29. τὰ μὲν ἄρματα. Of the Assyrians sc.

τὰ μὲν καὶ . . . τὰ δὲ καὶ. The καὶ in both clauses has reference to the main verb ἔφευγεν, but the shade of meaning varies with the word to which καὶ is prefixed. In the first clause it is 'some fled, and managed to combine with their flight the rescue of their fighting men'; in the second, 'others fled, and actually left their men behind.' The English 'not only...but' gives the same double sense.

§ 30. πολλαχόθ μὲν εἶν. εἶν shows that the following statement is a natural sequence from the preceding sentence.

συνεισέβαλον. The aorist here has its proper momentary sense, in contrast to the imperfect *συνεισέβαλλον* lower down. Abradatas' onset was joined at first by the charioteers nearest him; these, however, soon drew off in pursuit of fugitives, and only Abradatas' personal friends continued to support the attack upon the Egyptians.

ὁμοτράπεζοι. 'Table-companions.' Xenophon assigns such to Abradatas, apparently, on the analogy of Cyrus' *ὁμοτράπεζοι*: Abradatas also being a king. Their devotion may be compared to that of the Soldurii among the Gauls (Cæsar, B. G. iii. 22).

§ 31. **ἄτε οὐ δυναμένων.** '*Quippe cum nequirent.*' Cf. Jelf, 704. Cyrus' prediction (vi. 4, 17) that the very numbers and formation of the Egyptians would incapacitate them was thus fulfilled.

δου δ' ἐπιλάβοιτο...πάντα. Cf. Jelf, 831, 2, and 819, 2, β.

§ 32. **ἐξαλλομένων.** The sense generally given here is 'starting from the axle'—as the verb is used of limbs starting away from their sockets; but it seems simpler to take it (comparing *ἐξήλλοντο* of 27) as 'jumping,' 'jolting,' which might well cause the fall of Abradatas.

ἦ δὲ ἀπαθείς ἐγένοντο = ἦ δὲ ἦσαν, ἀπαθείς γενόμενοι.

§ 33. **δοράτων καὶ ξυστῶν.** *ξυστά* (properly a verbal adjective) are mentioned in iv. 6, 1 as cavalry-lances; the *δόρατα* are more especially the weapons of infantry.

§ 34. **ἐν ἀκραῖς ταῖς χερσὶ.** 'In their fingers.'

ὅπρῳ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐγένοντο. See Introduction.

οἱ ἐπὶ πᾶσι. 'The hindermost.' The phrase occurs for the first time in vi. 3, 25. There Cyrus tells them it is their duty *πλεῖω φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς κακοῖς τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.* They were picked troops or veterans, corresponding to the Roman *triarii*, *veteranum militum spectatae virtutis* (Livy, viii 8), who *extremis subsidio deponerentur* (Varro, L. L. v. 39).

ἀνατεταμένοι. With middle sense. Cf. Jelf, 365, 3.

§ 36. **ἀφορῶντας.** If this MS.-reading is right, the traditional interpretation *aversos*, 'while they were looking away,' seems the only possible one; but this use of the verb is without support. Madvig's conjecture *ἀπορῶντας*, 'while at a loss what to do,' is plausible at first sight; but the Egyptians at the moment of Cyrus' attack were not *ἀπορῶντες*, but at least holding their own. Perhaps *χωρῶντας* (cf. *ἐχώρουν* in section 33), 'while they were still advancing,' might be suggested.

§ 37. ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς. '*Inter ictus.*' Cf. ἐν οἴνῳ, *inter pocula*; ἐν δόρῃ, 'amid spear thrusts' (Helena 1122).

§ 38. προσπεσόντες. '*Impetu facto*' is the translation of Philiphus, followed by Hutchinson; but the attack was already made. The sense rather seems to be, 'hurrying up—'; all pressed towards the place where Cyrus had fallen.

ἀναβάλλει αὐτόν. 'Mounts him.' This is spoken of by Xenophon (περὶ ἱππικῆς, vi. 12) as a Persian custom; and the office of helping the king to horse appears in Anab. iv. 4 as an honourable one, held by a satrap.

§ 40. ἀνέβη. Sc. the τῆς of the previous sentence.

πλὴν τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. 'Except what was Egyptian.' Cf. τὸ τῶν Ἐφόρων (Plato, Laws iv. 5), 'all that is meant by the name Ephors'; and Jelf, 436, 5.

ὅστε... ὅπλα. 'So that only their arms' (i.e. their shields) 'were visible.'

§ 41. σωθῆναι... εἶναι. The participle and the main verb here and in the Egyptians' answer stand in the closest connection; the δόκησις of being brave men is an inseparable condition of the σωθῆναι: and the present participle shows that the opinion is regarded as abiding. 'To preserve their lives with honour' may perhaps serve as a translation.

§ 42. τοῦντεῦθεν. 'When that is allowed,' like the French *puis* in '*Et puis?*' The Egyptians still doubt whether, granting that they have hitherto acquitted themselves well, they can honourably accept terms. καὶ in τί καὶ καλὸν has its proper incessive force: 'what can we do, and, more than that, what honourable thing can we do?'

εἰ τῶν τε. i.e. τοῦτο καλὸν ἂν ποιοῖτε, εἰ.

ἔξόν. Cf. Jelf, 700.

§ 43. τίνα εὐεργεσίαν. Cognate accusative with εἰ ποιεῖν (ἡμᾶς ἐξιώσεις): 'what benefit will you decide to bestow upon us?'

ὅσον ἂν... ἦ. Cf. Jelf, 829.

§ 44. γινώσκεισθαι. 'That they were known.' The aorist γνωσθῆναι is more usual in this sense; but here the present which the speaker would use (γινωσκόμεθα), expressing existing relations, is kept in the oratio obliqua. The unusual sense of the word probably accounts for the reading of inferior MSS. συγγινώσκεισθαι. Croesus had made an alliance with the Egyptian king Amasis, according to Herodotus (i. 77).

§ 45. *ἄνω*. 'inland.' Cf. Thucydides' use of *ἀνοικίζω*, 'to build away from the coast' (i. 7).

Λάρισσαν... Κυλλήνην. Both in *Æolis*. Larisa had also the name of Phriconia, like the neighbouring Cyme, which might point to its having originally been founded by a Locrian colony from mount Phricium.

§ 49. *χρήσιμον ἰδὲκει*. Sc. *τὸ φοβῆσαι τοὺς Ἰππεύς*.

ἀλλὰ γάρ. Cf. Jelf, 786, 4, 7. The *ἀλλὰ* anticipates the sentence *οὕτω δὲ...διάγουσι*, and the *γάρ*, which properly belongs to the sentence *οὕτε τρέφειν...τούτων*, is attracted toward the *ἀλλὰ* as *ἂν* is attracted away from its ordinary position in a sentence to *οἶμαι* or a similar verb, e.g. *Anabasis* vii. 7, 14, *οἶμαι ἂν οὖν*, *ἔφη*, *ὅμῃς ἀπολάβειν*.

σχῆμα. 'Equipment.' Herodotus (i. 80) gives in detail what Xenophon only implies in the *ἱππεὺς* of section 48, viz. that Cyrus had the baggage removed from the camels, and *ἀνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππῶδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους*.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. *μέντοι*. Cf. Jelf, 730. The *μέντοι* as a whole contrasts the sentence *Κροῖσος...ἀπεχώρει* with the first sentence of the chapter; its first component *μέν* contrasts Croesus' action with that of the *ἄλλα φύλα* (*τὰ δ' ἄλλα*). 'As for Croesus, he fled—; while the other contingents—.'

ἐπὶ Σαρδείων, 'Towards Sardis.' Cf. Jelf, 633, 1 b; while *ἐπὶ Σάρδεϊς* in section 2 is 'against Sardis.' Cf. Jelf, 635, 3 β.

ὁδοῦ. Partitive genitive with *δοι προσωτάτω*.

§ 2. *τῷ τείχει=τῷ ἐρύματι*. 'The citadel.'

§ 3. *ἡγήσατο...αὐτοῖς*. 'Led the way for them.' With the dative this is most usually the sense of the verb in Attic writers (Xenophon showing some exceptions); while in the sense of 'holding command over' it takes the genitive. Herodotus (i. 84) gives a somewhat different account of the capture of Sardis.

§ 4. *δὲ*. 'Immediately.' Cf. Jelf, 720. As an emphatic form of *δε* (= 'secondly'), this particle, following the temporal *ὥς*, gives the notion of direct sequence.

τῆς πόλεως. Cf. *ὁδοῦ* in section 1.

§ 5. *ἀπαγαγόν*. Sc. *τὸν στρατόν*.

ὄπλα. 'Quarters.' The *place of arms*, where they were piled. Cf. Thucydides' *ἐκ τῶν ἰπλῶν προΐεναι* (i. 111), 'to advance beyond

camp.' So *oi lythys* in Aristophanes (*Wasps* 789) is 'the fish-market'; *τὰ ἄλφιστα* = 'the breadmarket' (*Knights* 857); and Catullus' use of *libelli* (55, 4) for 'book-shops' may be compared.

§ 6. *πᾶσι Χαλδαίοις μακαριστοῦς*. i.e. rich. The Chaldeans are described in iii. 2, 7 as forced to become mercenary soldiers by the poverty of their own rugged and mountainous country; and by their own confession (iii. 2, 25) some of them lived by free-booting, *καὶ οὗτ' ἂν ἐπίσταντο ἐργάζεσθαι οὗτ' ἂν δύναντο*....*ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐληίζοντο ἢ ἐμισθοφόρουν*. Some such were the 'three bands' who 'fell upon the camels and have carried them away, yea, and slain the servants with the edge of the sword,' as Job's messenger tells him (i. 17).

μὴ θαυμάζετε κ.τ.λ. The threat is purposely obscure; *καὶ ἀπιούσιν ὑμῖν* = 'even though you are allowed to depart' in safety for the present.

§ 7. *αὐτῶν*, i.e. the Chaldeans.

τοῖς διαφυλάξασι. 'To those who have steadily (*διὰ*) held.'

§ 9. *ἀγαγεῖν...Κροῖσον*. Herodotus' account of Cyrus' treatment of Croesus, differing widely from Xenophon's, is in Book i. 86, 87.

τοῦτο. i.e. the name *δεσπότης*. *ἔχειν* and *προσαγορεύειν* are extensions of the predicate *δίδωσι*. Literally, 'This name does fate assign to you to possess and to me to call you by.'

§ 10. *καὶ σὺ γε*. Sc. *χαίρει*. The *γε* here is best taken as emphasizing *σὺ* only, not as connected with *καί*: just as in section 30 the particles *μὲν οὖν* have each its independent force, and do not coalesce.

ἀτάρ. 'But now.' Cf. Jelf, 771, 4.

καὶ βουλοίμην γ' ἄν. 'Yes, truly, for I should like.' Cf. Jelf, 735, 10. In this collocation, there seems often to be an illative sense, which has sometimes led to the variant *γάρ* for *γε* in MSS. *καὶ...γε* is thus = *καὶ...δὲ* (see note on Ch. I. section 1), with the additional notion of inference. Cf. III. 20. 'A man who has been defeated in some trial of strength,' says Tigranes, 'thinks a little practice will enable him to retrieve his defeat: *καὶ πόλεις γε ἀλοῦσαι συμμάχους προσλαβοῦσαι οἴονται ἀναμαχεσθαι ἄν*.' 'and (this is not strange, for) even cities in the hands of an enemy think that if they get allies they can retrieve their loss.'

§ 11. *ἂν διαφθαρήναι*. Cf. Jelf, 429.

§ 12. *Ἄλλ', ἔφη*. "'Well," said he.' The adversation of

the ἀλλὰ is as between Croesus' advice and Cyrus' difficulties: Croesus acknowledges the difficulties, 'but,' he says, 'there is a way out of them.'

Λυδῶν. Partitive genitive after οὗς ἄν.

ὑπεσχόμεν. The force of the ὅτι extends to this verb: '(let me tell them that I have obtained an undertaking from you—,) and that I promised—'

ἦ μὲν. 'In very truth.' The usual introduction of a clause containing promise. Cf. Jelf, 728, 3 a.

§ 13. ἦξει. As 'to come in' is used, of revenue, in English; and so in section 14, τὰ ἐλθόντα, 'what has come in.'

ὁμοίως. 'None the less;' *porinde* (ac si urbs non fuisset capta).

§ 14. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἅπαντα. 'All this, accordingly.' μὲν δὴ is frequent in Xenophon as a continuative phrase to wind up a series of facts. Cf. 3, 2, 14; 4, 12; 5, 32, &c.; and Jelf, 720, 730.

§ 16. νῦν δέ. 'But as it is.' Cf. the similar use of *nunc* in Cicero (De Divinatione, i. 30): 'we should have many more true dreams, if we went to bed *integrī*: nunc, *onusti cibo et vino, perturbata et confusa cornimus*.'

§ 17. τοῦτο. This is generally taken as object to γινῶσκ, and ἀπιστούμενοι as epexegetic of it: 'when they know this, viz. that they are mistrusted.' Hertlein quotes several passages to support this construction, but in all of them the epexegetic participle is in the accusative, and has not reference (as here) to the nominative of the sentence: so that no parallel is established. It seems better to regard τοῦτο as object to a general notion of action implied in the verb οὐ φιλοῦσι: as if the sentence had, in the writer's mind, begun τοῦτο μὴ ὅτι θεοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωποι... ποιῶσι: and then the general statement had been replaced by the particular one, οὐ φιλοῦσι τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας.

μὴ ὅτι. Cf. Jelf, 762, 2, 3.

§ 18. ἐπεὶ...ἀπέχοντος. 'However, after he had detected me in some very out-of-the-way doings, distant from Delphi as I was.' μέντοι resumes the narrative which has been interrupted by τοῦτο δ'...ἀπιστοῦντας. For ἔγνω with genitive, cf. Jelf, 485. The first καὶ is intensive of μάλα, as in the phrases καὶ κάρτα, καὶ πάνυ: the second = 'even,' is intensive of πρόσω. The μάλα ἔτοπα are narrated by Herodotus, i. 46, sqq. Croesus, trying the credibility of the Delphic oracle, ordered the messengers he had sent thither to ask what he, the king, of the

Lydians, was doing on a certain day reckoned from their departure from Sardis. On this day, 'he, having taken thought what things were beyond finding out or conjecture, did with his own hands cut up a lamb and a tortoise and did seethe them together in a brazen pot, whereon was set a brazen lid.' The answer of the Pythia to Croesus' messengers was as follows:—

οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
καὶ κωφοῦ συνήμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.
ὁδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης
ἐπομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἃ μ' ἀρνέοισι κρέεσσι,
ᾗ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται χαλκὸν δ' ἐπίεσται.

On receiving this Croesus was convinced of the oracle's power: thinking, as he implies here, that it was impossible for any human agency to have discovered to the Pythia the actions of one so πρὸς Δελφῶν ἀπέχοντος.

οὕτω δὴ. *Tum demum.* Herodotus (i. 85) tells us that Croesus had at some time of his prosperity consulted the oracle as to his dumb child's affliction; but his account differs considerably from Xenophon's in the order of events; and he makes no mention of the answer given in section 20.

ἐξίλασάμην ποτέ. 'Had at last propitiated.' Cf. μόγῃς οὐκ ὅτε ἀνέφξε τὴν θύραν—'so with reluctance he did at last open the door' (Plato, Protagoras, 314 B): and the use of the Latin *aliquando* in Cicero's *collegi me aliquando* (Pro Cluentio, xix. 51).

§ 20. οὐδὲ...ἐψεύσατο. The first οὐδὲ negatives the whole sentence, the second negatives one particular of it, *τεῦτο*.

ᾤνησαν. The use of this word, with reference to balked domestic hope, may be perhaps a Homeric reminiscence: in *Odyssey* xii. 120 Telemachus says that Odysseus begat him, an only child, οὐδ' ἀπὸνητο, 'and had no joy thereof': and so Theseus (*Odyssey* xi. 323, 324) brought Ariadne for his wife out of Crete, οὐδ' ἀπὸνητο, for 'Artemis slew her.'

ὁ μὲν...διετέλει. The imperfect looks as if Xenophon accepted without mention Herodotus' account (i. 85) that this dumb son suddenly received speech in time to save his father from death at the capture of Sardis.

ὁ δὲ...ἀπώλετο. Cf. Herodotus i. 43. He was accidentally slain by the refugee Adrastus in a boar-hunt.

γινώσκων. The present participle implies that the 'self-knowledge' is a process with which the 'faring happily through life' will exactly coincide.

§ 21. οἶόν τ' εἶναι. Cf. Jelf, 755, 4.

§ 22. ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου. See Introduction.

σὺν τῷ θεῷ 'By the god's help.'

§ 23. ὡν ἐβόσσαν. Cf. Jelf, 822.

ὑπὸ τοιούτων δὲ λόγων. 'By such speeches, I say.' The δὲ is resumptive. Cf. Jelf, 767, 4.

§ 24. ἄρα. 'As it proved.' Cf. Jelf, 788, 5.

ἐκ θεῶν γεγονότι. Xenophon's genealogy of Cyrus is given in I. 2, 1: it goes back to Perseus, son of Zeus and Danae.

ἄμα τε...γενέσθαι. This was Gyges (cf. Herodotus i. 8-13), one of the αἰχμοφόροι of Candaules, whom he slew.

§ 26. βουλὴν. 'Time for taking counsel.' Cf. the use of νίκη in St. John, Ep. i. 5, 4, καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ νίκη ἣ νικήσασα τὸν κόσμον—the means of victory'; and Croesus' words in § 27, μηδὲν...ἔτι βουλεύου, 'take no longer counsel with yourself.'

σὺν ὅτε περ ἐζήτε. 'To which you were accustomed.' The addition of the preposition (like the addition of *cum* in Latin) lays stress on the noun it is joined to. Cf. Jelf, 623, 3 c.

§ 28. οὕτω δῆ. 'So then.' οὕτω is here continuative like *itaque*, and not anticipatory of ὥστερ, or the sentence would, unlike Xenophon's style, have no connection with the previous one.

ὥστερ ἐγώ. κατεσκεύαζον sc.

ἀνθρώπων. 'Of human kind.' So Herodotus (i. 60) uses ἡ ἀνθρωπος in speaking of the woman dressed up by Pisistratus to represent Athens.

§ 29. εἴτε ἄρα. 'Whether, as may well have been—' Cf. note on section 24. καὶ in both clauses has its proper force of addition: the taking is one fact, the usefulness or safety of it, another.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. οἱ μάγοι. These were the priestly class among the Medes, originally belonging, like the Jewish Levites, to one tribe. Cyrus established a similar class among the Persians after the conquest of Babylon (viii. 23).

ἐξηγωνται. The tense used by the speaker in Oratio Recta is here kept in Oratio Obliqua. Cf. Jelf, 887, 1.

§ 3. $\delta\tau\iota\ldots\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \zeta\eta$. 'Because...he is not alive.' With the stopping adopted in the text, the servant's answer has reference to Cyrus' expression of wonder that Abradatas is not to be seen: '(he is not here) because—' Cf. I. 6, 36, where a question 'how is it possible to do' so and so is answered by $\delta\tau\iota$: '(it is possible) because—' Another way of stopping the sentence is to make the servant's speech begin with $\eta\ \delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$, and regard $\delta\tau\iota$ as introducing the oratio recta, as it frequently does in New Testament Greek. Cf. Jelf, 802, obs. 8.

§ 4. $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ldots\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. Xenophon doubtless means that the body was brought to the river to be washed, it being thought that there was greater purification in running water, Virgil's *flumen vivum* (Aeneid ii. 719): but here as usual he is allowing Greek usages to colour his account; the Persians, according to Herodotus (i. 138), not even suffering themselves to wash their hands in a river. For Persian burial, cf. Herod. i. 140.

§ 5. $\text{o}\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\chi\epsilon$. Cf. note on section 23. A Greek corpse, after having been washed and anointed, was crowned with flowers and dressed in as costly a robe as the friends could get.

§ 6. $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron\ldots\mu\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$. Cf. Jelf, as in note on section 24; and for the action, expressive of grief, Odyssey xiii. 198, where Odysseus, waking in Ithaca and not recognising his land, 'smote his two thighs with down-turned hands.'

§ 7. $\delta\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$. This use of $\delta\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$ may either be regarded as coming under the instances given in Jelf, 816, 7, or as having a distributive force: 'all who were in charge of the cattle—were ordered.'

$\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\ \tau\phi\ \text{'A}$. i.e. in honour of Abradatas. The verb is originally used with the dative of place ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta$, Hecuba 505, 'on the tomb'), and then with the dative of the person to whom the honour of sacrifice is given.

§ 8. $\epsilon\pi\eta\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$. 'Came away in his grasp.' Cf. Virgil's use of *sequi* in Aeneid vi. 146: the golden bough that is to be a gift to Proserpine '*ipse volens faciliusque sequetur, Si te fata vocant*.'

§ 9. $\kappa\alpha\iota\ldots\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. Cf. note on I. 1.

$\delta\epsilon\grave{\xi}\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\ \delta\eta$. 'So soon as she had received it.' Cf. Jelf, 720, 2.

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\iota$. 'The other limbs too, if you must know.' $\tau\omicron\iota$ is probably in origin a dative of the 2nd personal pronoun, which from being used in the 'ethic' sense, passes into an intensive particle. Cf. Jelf, 736 sqq.

§ 10. οὐχ ἥκιστα. Pantheia had armed Abradatas with her own hands; her farewell speech to him before the battle is given in VI. 4, 5, where she tells him, swearing by their mutual love, that she would rather 'be clothed in earth' together with him ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γενομένου, than live μετ' αἰσχυρομένου αἰσχυρομένη.

οὐ τοῦτο...χαρίσαιο. 'Never thought of his own chances, but always had the question before him, what he could do to serve you.' πελοῖτο is the future in oratio obliqua: Abradatas would say τοῦτο διὰ πελοῖμαι, 'that (good or evil) which I shall have for my lot'; and the form of the clause with the simple future marks certainty; something, good or bad, was certain to happen to him from his action. This certainty he did not further trouble himself about; but what he did always think of was 'What can I do to serve Cyrus?' and the very form of the sentence here with optative and ἄν expresses modest doubt if he can serve Cyrus at all.

καὶ γὰρ οὖν. 'And so this is the end.' οὖν (cf. Jelf, 737, 1, 2) originally emphasizes one set of facts in connection with another, bringing the second set into equality of importance with the first. This present phrase set out fully would be, in English, 'And (what I say is true), for—and this is quite certain—'

§ 12. συστήσω. Sc. σέ τι.

οὐ μὴ...κρύψω. Cf. Jelf, 748.

ἀφικέσθαι. Pantheia uses this word as Ajax says (Soph. Aj. 690), ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμ' ἐκεῖσ' ὅποι πορευτέον: ἀφικέσθαι is still more forcible, as meaning 'to reach the end' of a journey.

§ 13. ὁ μὲν δῆ. Cf. note on II. 14.

οἷου...στέροιτο=διὰ τοιούτου...στέροιτο. Cf. Jelf, 804, 10.

τρόφῳ. She has not been previously mentioned. A Greek woman often kept even after marriage the slave who had nursed her as a child: thus Euripides, drawing from the social life around him, assigns a nurse to Medea and to Phædra.

§ 15. εἰ...βοηθῆσαι. 'To see if he could give any help.' εἰ πως is more frequent in this sense, for which cf. Jelf, 877, b, and the use of si in Cæsar's *Minucium præmittit si quid celeritate itineris proficere possit* (Bell. Gall. vi. 29): 'to see if he could gain any advantage—'

οὐπερ ἔταξεν. 'Where she had ordered them to stand.' After the word ἑστηκότες the following passage occurs in the MSS.: καὶ τὴν τὸ μῆμα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν (these two words are omitted in the three principal MSS.) τῶν εὐνούχων κειῶσθαι λέγεται

καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ἑνῇ στήλῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναίκος ἐπιγεγράφθαι φασὶ τὰ ἐνόμια, Σόρια γράμματα, κάτω δὲ εἶναι τρεῖς λέγουσι στήλας, καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι σκηπτούχων. The reasons against the authenticity of this passage are (1) the unintelligible repetition in καὶ νῦν... τοῦ νῦν; (2) the displacement of τῶν εἰνοῦχων; and (3)—as Hertlein asserts—the unlikeliness of a monument being inscribed with the names of σκηπτούχοι. This last reason is hardly satisfactory, for the σκηπτούχοι are undoubtedly the eunuchs, who might be well thought to deserve record of their loyalty; but the objections against the earlier part of the sentence are valid, and the latter part stands or falls with the former. If the words τοῦ νῦν are omitted, the sense then is that the monument was built so as to reach (from the place where Pantheia died, presumably,) 'up to the eunuchs,' i.e. the place where they died; a statement which does not much commend itself for sense or clearness. As no amount of conjecture will really mend the passage, it seems justifiably regarded as an interpolation.

§ 16. ἐχέσθη. This is the regular word for raising a sepulchral mound. Burning a corpse was ἐχέσειν to the Persians (Herodotus, iii. 16), as thereby the fire-god would be polluted.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. οἱ Κάρες. Herodotus gives an account of this tribe in i. 171: the ἐχρὰ χάρια refers to the mountainous nature of the country.

ἄτε... ἔχοντες. Cf. Jelf, 704.

ὅς... ἐρείψων. 'With the view of overthrowing.' Cf. Jelf, 690, obs. 2.

§ 2. σατράπην... Κιλικίαν. 'To be satrap... over the Cilicians.' σατράπην is extension of the predicate ἐπεμπε Πέρσας.

§ 3. ὁποτέροις διαλέγοιτο. Cf. Jelf, 419, 1.

οφθα. i.e. Adusius and that faction of the Carians to whom he was at the time speaking.

ὅς... ἄν... ἐπιπρασόν. Cf. Jelf, 429, 4.

πιστὰ δ' ἡξίου γενέσθαι. 'He required that pledges of good faith should be given.'

οφθα. i.e. Adusius and his forces.

τῇ Κύρου. This unusual collocation has occasioned the alteration τοῦ in the Wolfenbüttel MS.; but it is parallel to such constructions as ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἐμῇ (Plato, Apol. 20 E).

αὐτοὺς δὲ ὁμῶσαι. So. ἡξίου, 'consented.' ἡξίω is 'to think due'; and hence its double sense, of thinking something due to oneself from others, 'claiming, requiring'; or of thinking something due to others from oneself: 'consenting, condescending.'

§ 4. εἰς τὰ τεύχη. One town, presumably the metropolis of Caria, is plainly meant: and the two factions may have held their separate ἐσώματα in the upper and lower parts of the town; Adusius holds his assembly between them, εἰς τὸ μέσον.

τοὺς ἐπικαίρους. 'The chief men.' The word seems almost peculiar to Xenophon in this special sense; he uses it first of military command, in III. 3, 12, where the term is nearly equivalent to the modern 'staff-officers'; and then applies it to all who, as here, are in authority, civil or military. *Anabasis* iii. 1, 36 (quoted by Breitenbach and Hertlein), may illustrate the word: 'You (says Xenophon to the principal Greek officers) μέγιστον ἔχετε καὶρόν' for all these soldiers look to you for guidance.'

§ 7. ἡξείη. This, or ἡξείη—a mere mistake of transposition—is the reading of the Codex Altorpiensis (now at Erlangen), the MS. which is generally ranked third in importance for this book of Xenophon. The Wolfenbüttel and other MSS. give ἔχειν (*posse*), for which several editors adopt the easy emendation ἔχει, and Sauppe conjectures ἡξεί. The acceptance of ἔχειν as a reading depends on that view of ὅτι with infinitive according to which ὅτι merely shows that the words which follow are in oratio obliqua (in fact, ὅτι=our inverted commas); and the construction is then direct infinitive after ἀπεκρίνατο. For ὅτι with infinitive cf. Jelf, 804, 7: the instances there given are often used to support the view just mentioned; but it is rightly pointed out there that in all the cases quoted the proper construction of the sentence has really been broken by a parenthesis coming between ὅτι and its verb, and has thus been forgotten, so that the following infinitive is really an anacoluthon. Now here there is no justification for anacoluthon: for there is no parenthesis, and we cannot suppose that the original construction of the sentence has been forgotten between ὅτι and ἔχειν. If therefore ἔχειν is kept, we are admitting the theory that ὅτι can introduce an infinitive just as directly as it can introduce an indicative or optative: and this seems more questionable than receiving ἡξείη, even though the MS. that reads it has been obviously under the hands of a corrector, and is therefore of less authority than the Wolfenbüttel one.

§ 8. πέποιεντο. οἱ Φρυγῆς sc. supplied from the preceding Φρυγίαν.

§ 10. εἰς χεῖρας...δύκην. 'Put himself into Hystaspas'

hands, to await Cyrus' decision.' Only the context can determine, as it does plainly here, the meaning of *eis χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τινι*, which is also used of 'coming to blows with' a man. For *ἐπὶ δίκῃ* cf. Jelf, 634, 3 a, e.

§ 11. τὰ σφέτερα. i.e. the Persian side.

τούτων. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι admitting two constructions (*τινὸς τι* and *τινός τι*), the genitive seems preferred here, to avoid the accumulation of accusatives. ἀφελομένους refers to Hystaspas and Adusius.

§ 13. ἦν τι καὶ κλέψωσι. 'If they do actually steal aught.'

§ 15. ἔστιν ἔνθα. 'est ubi': 'there are times when.' μάλα ἱσχυρῶς go together.

οἱ πάντες σφενδονήται. 'The whole slinger-force' of any given army.

§ 16. τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος. ἰδὲν sc. cf. Jelf, 558, 1.

οὐ μεῖον. Like the Latin *amplius* and *minus* used absolutely: 'four hundred thousand, not less.'

CHAPTER V.

§ 2. μέλλοιεν. Sc. οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι; cf. note on IV. 8.

κυκλουμένοις. Dativus incommodi. 'As they were wheeling.' Herodotus gives the dimensions of Babylon from his own observation, in i. 178: it was a square, covering 480 stadia, about 55 English miles.

ἐπ' ὀλίγων. ἀνθρώπων sc. cf. Jelf, 633, 3 f.

τὸ βάθος. 'In depth': accusative of extent.

§ 3. στὰς κατὰ μέσον. The Persian troops are no longer *περὶ τὴν πόλιν*, but withdrawing from it in phalanx. Cyrus takes up his position in the centre of the phalanx, and orders the heavy-armed men at either extremity to 'fold back' the phalanx (*ἀναπτύσσοντας τὴν φάλαγγα*) by marching from front to rear past the main body which was halted (*τὸ ἐστηκὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος*), until they 'reached him, that is (*καὶ*), the centre': when the two divisions would join. The result of this is that the halted troops (*οἱ μένοντες*) get confidence from the increased depth given them by those who fall back (*οἱ ἀπίοντες*), while the latter feel securer in being covered by the *μένοντες*.

§ 5. τοὺς τελευταίους. The *τελευταῖοι* of this arrangement were, before the *ἀνάπτυξις*, the *πρωτοστάται* at either extremity of the phalanx, and so *ἄριστοι*.

ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων. 'On the wings.' Cf. Jelf, 620, 3 b.

§ 6. ἐπὶ πῶδα. 'Backwards': facing the enemy. Jelf, 635, 3 d, translates 'step by step'; but the following *στραφέντες* shows that a backward movement is meant. ἐπὶ σκέλος is similarly used by Aristophanes (*Birds*, 383), where Kock quotes from Bekker's *Anecdota* 72, 31, *χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος τὸ ὀπίσω ἀναχωρεῖν, μὴ δόντα τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις τὰ νῦτα*: with the illustration from *Iliad* xi. 547, *ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων*, said of Ajax in his terror. The original sense, then, of ἐπὶ πῶδα seems to be 'one foot after the other'—one foot, in retreat, taking the place of the other which was behind it.

ἐπ' ἀσπίδα. 'To the left,' the shield-side.

τόσση δέ. Cf. Jelf, 770, 1 obs. 2 b.

§ 7. οὕτως...ὕψηλὰ. Herodotus (*loc. cit.*) gives 50 royal cubits as the breadth (about 85 feet), and 200 cubits as the height (about 341 feet).

τοὺς ἀνδρας. i.e. the enemy. Both Xenophon and Thucydides use *οἱ ἄνδρες* and *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* of enemies spoken of by enemies: perhaps there is a contemptuous sense in the expression, as we might say 'the fellows.'

§ 8. εἶπεν...εἶφῃ. This repetition, like our 'he said, said he,' seems to be originally colloquial, and as such is most frequently found in Plato: the intention evidently is to emphasize the thing said, just as in the also colloquial *ἦ δ' ὅς* followed by the name of the speaker, the emphasis is laid on the person saying.

ὁ δὲ ποταμός. 'But the river—': δὲ is properly adversative here, introducing the mention of the river as opposed to the walls: as if Chrysantas meant 'The walls are impracticable: but the river—can nothing be made of *that*?'

δύο...ἰσθηκώς. Cf. Jelf, 708, 2 and 478.

§ 9. τὸ μέρος. 'The (proper) share.' *ἐκάστους* is Madvig's conjecture for the MSS. *ἐκάστου*, which seems hardly Greek.

§ 10. ἀπολιπὼν...ποταμόθ. 'Leaving just space enough from the river for the erection of large towers.' *ἴσον* is abbreviated from (*τοσοῦτον*) *ἴσον* (*ἂν ἀπολίποι τις*), and *τέρσεσι* is dative expressing purpose.

ἐνθεν...τελείους. 'On both sides of the wall,' which was divided by the Euphrates.

πρὸς ἑαυτούς This is explained by the parallel passage (quoted by Zeune) in the compiler Zonaras (12th century A.D.): *τὸν δὲ χοῦν ἀνέβαλον πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον*.

§ 11. πλεθραίοις. '101 feet long.'

εἰσι γάρ. The γάρ here has reference to πλεθραίοις: '(he was able to do so) for they actually grow higher than that.'

καὶ γὰρ δὴ. This phrase, introducing the reason why the towers were built on foundations of palm-timber, continues the sentence directly from φαίνεῖ θεμελίους, the words εὐ μείον ...πεφυκότες being parenthetical. δὴ = 'as a matter of fact.' Cyrus chose to make the piles of palm—which the geographer Strabo says grew abundantly about Babylon—because of the elastic resistance offered by palm-timber under the pressure of great weight. This elasticity is affirmed on the authority of Aristotle (in a book now lost) and of Plutarch (Symposiaca viii. 5) by Aulus Gellius, in the 3rd book, chapter 6, of his Attic Nights.

§ 12. τούτους...πύργους. If this, the MS. reading, is kept, the translation is as follows: 'These timbers he used as a foundation in order to look as much like preparing a regular siege as possible, so that even if the river were to escape through into the trench it might not destroy the towers.' The latter clause, ἔς...πύργους, stands in close connection with the first, ὥς...παρασκευαζομένη. Cyrus wished his real design, of drawing off the water of the Euphrates, to be misunderstood (we have seen him putting even Chrysantas off the track of a suggestion about the river, in section 9); he accordingly gives his trench the appearance of merely a defensive work (cf. his words ὥς ἐπὶ ἐλαχίστων ἡμῶν τῶν φυλάκων δέξῃ, in section 10, spoken to his own officers) to which the towers that cover the space between it and the Euphrates are a natural addition; and the choice of elastic palm-piles, 101 feet long, for the foundations of these towers, further helps out this idea: for of course towers, and especially towers that are meant to last through a long siege, require the strongest support they can get; and again, these supports must be long enough to be driven deep, and thus be secure against a possible incursion of the neighbouring river, the firmness of whose banks might be impaired by the trenching in its neighbourhood. This, then, is the view of his operations which Cyrus wanted the Babylonians to take: and the words ἔς...πύργους would be what one Babylonian spectator might use in explanation to another of Cyrus' use of palm-piles (τούτους ὥς(εἰ) for the foundations of the towers. The difficulties that have been raised on this passage really come from a misunderstanding of the two consequential clauses: ὥς...παρασκευαζομένη shows what Cyrus' own purpose as he would have expressed it to himself was; ἔς...πύργους shows his apparent purpose—which is subordinated logically and grammatically to the real one—as he would have others express it to themselves. It re-

mains to notice the various changes in text that have been proposed here. Dindorf brackets the whole passage; Breitenbach the words *ὅπως...παρασκευαζομένη*; all MS. authority, however, agrees in giving the whole passage as it stands in the present text. Hertlein, following Schneider and Weckherlin, is inclined to transpose as follows: *καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πύργους ἐπὶ τῇ ποταμῷ φκοδόμει, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἰοίκοι πολιορκήσῃ παρασκευαζομένη, φοίνιξι θεμελιώσας οὐ μείον ἢ πλεθριαίοις, εἰσι γὰρ καὶ μείζονες ἢ τοσοῦτοι τὸ μῆκος πεφυκότες· τούτους δ' ὑπετίθει τοῦτον ἕνεκα ὥς εἰ καὶ διαφύγοι ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν τάφρον μὴ ἀνέλοι τοὺς πύργους· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πιεζόμενοι οἱ φοίνικες ὑπὸ βάρους ἄνω κυρτοῦνται ὥστε οἱ ὄνοι οἱ κανθήλιοι.* This, at first sight, seems to make everything clear. But the principle of transposition is one not lightly to be accepted in emendation, especially in writings like this, where whatever we have in MS. must be either the author's own or an interpolator's (not, as presumably in the Ethics, notes taken down by a philosopher's hearers), and where there is no indication of confusion in the best MSS. And consideration shows the proposal to arise from a misunderstanding of the Greek. Hertlein by his arrangement certainly means the words *ὥς...κανθήλιοι* to give Cyrus' real reason for using palm-piles: 'these he used as a foundation, so that even if the river were to escape through into the trench, it might not destroy the towers; for it is well known that palms under the pressure of a weight bend upwards—.' Now, *εἰ καὶ διαφύγοι* could only be said or thought by one who regarded the event *διαφεύγειν* as unlikely: whereas it was what Cyrus was really bringing to pass: to represent him as using precautions against such a result is contradictory to sense. And the *βάρους*, in Hertlein's arrangement, is evidently the weight of the in-flowing water, 'supposing it to escape': but it is difficult to see how a rush of water against the sides of piles should bring about the effect described by *ἄνω κυρτοῦσθαι*. Plutarch's words (*loc. cit.*) are illustrative of the meaning of *κυρτοῦσθαι*: *φοίνικος ξύλον ἂν ἄνωθεν ἐπιθεὶς βαρὺ πιέζῃς*, 'if you press a palm-timber down heavily with a weight from above,' it does not yield, *ἀλλὰ κυρτοῦται πρὸς τοῦναντίον*, 'but bends out to meet the hostile force,' *ὥστε ἀνθιστάμενον τῷ βιαζομένῳ*. The pressure is plainly thought of as coming from above, on to a palm-trunk in its length (and so, properly enough, of the weight of the towers resting on the palm-piles): and Xenophon illustrates this by comparison with a pack-ass' back, which bows out on either side to meet its burden.

ἀνίστη δέ. δὲ here answers the *πρῶτον μὲν* of section 11.

§ 13. *εἰκοσιν ἑτῶν* is predicative, not governed by *πλέον* (for which cf. note on Chapter IV. 16). As we might say *εἶχον τὰ ἱτήδεια ἄφθονα* (predicative), 'they had their provisions in great

abundance,' αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες εἰκοσὶν ἔτην (cf. Jelf, 523, 2) = ἔχοντες εἰκοσάετη.

δύοκα μῆνα. Cf. Jelf, 582, 3, 4.

ὅς... φυλάξον. 'To the (apparent) end that each division should perform one month's guard-duty in the year.' Cf. Jelf, 703 c. This accusative is generally called absolute; but its usages really come either under the head of accusative of extent, or under that of object-accusative, the action of a previous verb being indirectly extended to it: in the present case, the influencing verb is *κατένευε*.

§ 14. κατεγέλων ἐννοούμενοι εἰ. 'Laughed scornfully to think that—.' Cf. Jelf, 804, 9: and the similar use of *εἰ* after words expressing wonder, in Latin; *miraris si patrias filius?* (Plantus, Pseud. i. v. 27).

§ 15. αἱ τάφροι. The plural is used of the several divisions of the trench, the lengths *c.g.* between tower and tower.

§ 16. ἀνιστόμενοι. i.e. by cutting through the space (under the towers) between the Euphrates and the trench.

§ 17. τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 'The difficulty of the river.' Cf. note on Chapter I. 40.

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους συμμάχους. 'The rest, namely the allies.' One of the best illustrations of this use of ἄλλος is in Plato's Gorgias, 473 D, where we have ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, 'by the citizens and the others, namely the aliens.'

§ 18. τοὺς ὑπηρέτας. 'The inferior officers.' This use of the word is peculiar to Xenophon: the ὑπηρέται appear as commissariat-officers in II. 1, 21, adjutants to generals in 31 (where their rank is mentioned as equal to that of heralds and ambassadors), and apparently guards of honour to Cyrus himself in VI. 2, 13.

§ 20. ἡμῖν... ὁδοῦ. 'Decessit nobis de via in urbem.'

§ 21. πολὺ... ἴσονται. Both the Wolfenbüttel and the Paris MSS. have *καὶ* after *πολύ*. For *καὶ* with the future, cf. Jelf, 424, 2. The Attic instances, however, are so doubtful as a whole, that omission of *καὶ* seems the safer course. As to the matter of the sentence, it is worth while to compare Herodotus' view in i. 191. 'If the Babylonians,' he says, 'had known beforehand or learnt what was being wrought by Cyrus,' all would have been different: 'for they would have shut to all the little gates in the wall that opened upon the river, and would have mounted upon the walls that are built along the river's edges, and thus have caught' the Persians 'as in a fish-weel.' The Persians, it must be remembered, in advancing along the river-bed, had on

either side of them the wall surrounding one of the two divisions which the Euphrates made in Babylon.

§ 22. μή...βάλλωσιν. So the Thebans, in their attempt on Plataea (Thucydides ii. 2 sqq.) suffered greatly from the women and slaves ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν...λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμῳ βαλλόντων.

§ 23. ὁῤῥα. A collective singular, like κέραμος in Thucydides just quoted or πλίνθος and ἀμπελος in Thucydides iv. 90, 2. Cf. Jelf, 354.

§ 24. ἴστε γάρ. See Introduction.

τὴν ταχίστην. Cf. note on Chapter IV. 16.

§ 25. οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν. 'Gobryas and those with him.' Cf. Jelf, 436 d.

βασιλείου εἰεν ὥς...νυκτί. This passage is corrupt in the MSS., the various readings being as follows. The Wolfenbüttel MS., βασιλείου ὥς ἐν κόμῳ δοκεῖ γάρ; the Paris MS., βασιλείου ὥς ἐν κόμῳ δοκῶ γάρ; the Erlangen (Altorpiensis) MS., βασιλείου εἰεν κομποδοκεῖ γάρ. Out of these variants, Muretus (Marc Antoine Muret, 1526-1585) proposed to read βασιλείου εἰεν, ὥς ἐν κόμῳ ἐν κόμῳ γάρ δοκεῖ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα εἶναι τῇδε τῇ νυκτί. The dropping of the second ἐν κόμῳ might be paralleled by numerous cases: the εἶναι is purely conjectural. Stephanus (Henri Estienne, 1528-1598) in his edition of 1561 proposed either βασιλείου, ὥς ἐν κόμῳ δεῖ κομᾷ γὰρ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα τῇδε τῇ νυκτί (in this the ὥς ἐν κόμῳ δεῖ, 'ut in comissatione oportet,' gives but a weak sense); or βασιλείου εἰεν κομῶδε γὰρ ἡ πόλις, — taking κομῶδε as nearly equivalent to κομᾷ (this seems doubtful Greek): or the same reading—except that εἰεν is omitted—as Muretus. Madvig conjectures ὥς ἐν κόμῳ εὐωχεῖται γάρ. The reading of the text is that adopted by Dindorf: for the place of γάρ, cf. Jelf, 786: ὥς ἐν κόμῳ, 'as it were in festival': abbreviated from ὥς (ἂν δόξειεν) ἐν κόμῳ; cf. note on Chapter I. 7. It seems, however, not impossible to accept the Wolfenbüttel MS. reading, thus: βασιλείου, ὥς ἐν κόμῳ ('as is natural in festival-time': cf. Jelf, 869, 5): δοκεῖ γάρ—allowing an ellipsis of the substantive verb both after εἰ καὶ and after δοκεῖ. But ὥς ἐν κόμῳ has very much the look of a marginal gloss that has found its way into the text.

μέλλειν. Muretus' conjecture, accepted by most editors, for the MS. ἀμελεῖν.

§ 27. πρὸς φῶς πολύ. 'By a blaze of light.' So πρὸς σελήνην is 'by moonlight' (Hellen. v. 1, 9). Cf. Varro's 'ad lucernam Aristophanis lucubrari' (L. L. 5, 1. 5).

§ 29. ἰσπασμένον. With middle force.

§ 30. καὶ...δὲ. Cf. note on Chapter I. 1.

ὁ δὲ γὰρ καὶ ἀμυνόμενος. 'And a third, again, actually defending himself.' Cf. Jelf, 735, 10. The γὰρ contrasts the last member of an enumeration with the preceding.

§ 31. τοὺς δ' ἐν...μένειν. τοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἔνδον μένειν is object to κηρύττειν, '(he ordered) those who knew Assyrian to proclaim that all who were inside their houses should remain there.'

θανατώσοιτο. Oratio obliqua. The proclamation would run thus: τοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἔνδον μένειν (for the infinitive, cf. Jelf, 671 a): εἰ δέ τις ἕξω ληφθήσεται, θανατώσεται.

§ 32. τετιμωρημένοι. See Introduction.

§ 35. ὥσπερ ἐδέδοκτο. Cyrus is described in II. iii. 1-16 as having called on his followers to decide whether the share of booty, if they conquered, should be equal among all, or proportioned to the merit of each. The latter course was chosen, and the arbitrement left to Cyrus.

οἴειτο. Oratio obliqua, after ἐκέλευε.

§ 36. ὃν ἔλαβον=τούτων οὗς ἔλαβον (cf. Jelf, 822), in which τούτων would be genitive after δεσπότας. διαλέγεσθαι sc. αὐτοῖς, 'to converse with them,' viz. the Babylonians.

οὗς ἔλαβον. To an English mind the more natural construction would appear: προηγόρευε...διαλέγεσθαι οἷς ἔλαβον (=τούτοις οὗς ἔλαβον) ὥς δεσπότας.

§ 37. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ. For this anacoluthon, cf. Jelf, 900. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, 'it seemed good to him,' is equivalent to ἔγνω, 'he determined,' which would give a regular and grammatical construction. Another instance may be quoted from IV. 2, 3, where ἐννοηθέντες is taken up by ταῦτα ἐνθυμουμένοις ἔδοξεν.

ὥς...φανεῖν. Cf. Jelf, 810, 1: ὅτι ἥκιστα ἐπιφθόνως (δ τι being accusative of extent, *quam minime invidiosè*) go together. With σπάνιος may be compared Tacitus' 'rarus aggressu' of Nero (Annals xv. 53).

§ 38. ἀμήχανοι τὸ πλῆθος. 'In impracticable number.' πλῆθος is accusative of extent: the etymological sense of ἀμήχανος is 'possessing (or later, as here, 'allowing of') no μηχανή, no way of dealing' with a thing. In the following clause μηχανή has the peculiarly Attic sense (like the English 'management' in one acceptation) of 'trickery.'

§ 39. ὁπηρέται. Cf. note on section 18.

ὁπότε...φανεῖν. Cf. note on Chapter I. 10. The force of the καὶ would be given in English by stress on the word 'friends.'

διωσόμεθα. This, or **διωσόμεθα** (**ἔως** can go with either, cf. Jelf, 840 sqq.), is the MS. reading: and if it be kept, the rather forced sense, 'get rid of,' seems the necessary one: Philadelphus' '*dimoveamus*' is literal, but Cyrus and his friends have no intention of 'forcing a way through' the crowd. Perhaps **διωσόμεθα** might be suggested as a reading: and the sense of **ἔως διωσόμεθα** would then be 'while we go through with' the crowd, i.e. go through the various requests, complaints, &c., which it has to make: for which use of **διαφέρειν** cf. **διαφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον** in Herodotus i. 25, and **ἔννεχὼς τὸν πόλεμον διαφέρειν** 'to prosecute the war continuously' in Thucydides i. 11, 2.

§ 40. **Ἄρα...διαλυθῆναι.** 'Well, sirs, it is time to separate now.' This is the MS. reading, which requires some alteration, as **ἄρα** (except in the Greek of the New Testament) does not begin a sentence. The simplest emendation is **ἄρα**, with or without a note of interrogation after **διαλυθῆναι**: cf. Jelf, 873, 2, where this passage is quoted. **ἔρα**, 'It is time,' with the omission of **καίρος**, is Cobet's emendation, adopted by Dindorf.

δίκην...ἀναγκαίων. Literally, 'having paid the penalty (of their attendance) at the hands of all natural wants.' **δίκην διδόναι ὑπὸ θεῶν** in Plato's *Gorgias* 525 B is 'to give satisfaction at the hands of the gods' = 'to be punished by the gods.' Here, the 'natural wants' of food, drink, etc. have been neglected by Cyrus' friends while in day-long attendance on him, and they accordingly 'give satisfaction at the hands of' (= 'receive punishment from') these wants, in bodily discomfort.

§ 41. **ἔνστοφόνων.** Probably cavalry: cf. note on chapter I. 33.

μηδένα...ῆ. An abbreviation of **μηδένα ἄλλον ῆ**. (cf. Jelf, 779): *quam* is similarly used with ellipsis of *aliter* in late Latin.

§ 42. **τοῖς μὲν...καταπεπραχέναι.** 'As far as the gods are concerned, it would be impossible to charge them with our not having hitherto accomplished all our wishes.' The construction is as follows: **ἔχομεν ἂν** (main verb) **μέμψασθαι...καταπεπραχέναι** (direct object) **τοῖς θεοῖς** (dative with verb of blaming) **οὐδὲν** (accusative of extent). For **τὸ μὴ οὐχί...καταπεπραχέναι** cf. Jelf, 750, 2: the **μὴ οὐ** is used with **μέμψασθαι**, as the notion of 'blame' implies *denial* (of duty done). **εὐχόμεθα** is the MS. reading: if kept, the present is exactly like the English tense in 'all we wish': where the idea of a particular time of wishing is subordinated to the general notion of wish. The use of the present in Virgil's *Cratera anticum, quem dat* (= cuius est datrix) *Sidonia Dido* (*Æn.* ix. 286), may also be compared: in connection with this, Gossrau's note on *Æn.* iv. 228 is extensive.

§ 45. *Θήπου*. 'Presumably.'

ἢ τινα ἢ οὐδένα. 'Few or none': like Persius' '*vel duo vel nemo*' (Sat. i. 2).

ἐγὼ δὲ...θεραπεύειν. 'But what I meant this class of people to do, was...to make interest with you—'

σκοπέοντας προσευγῆς. 'Asking you for an introduction.'

§ 46. *ὅς...δεῖν*. The regular construction after *ταῦτα* would be *ὅς* or *ὅτε...δεῖν* (cf. Jelf, 863, 2d): but a kind of attraction with *ἐνταῦθα*, the direct accusative after *ἐγγύς*, seems to have influenced the sentence. 'Because I viewed the conditions of war as making it wrong for a commander to be behind-hand—'

τὸ εἰδέναι. Accusative of extent.

σπανίους ἰδεῖν. '*Rare visum*.' Cf. Jelf, 667, obs. 4. Curtius in the *Elucidations* to his Greek Grammar (Abbott's translation, p. 231 sqq.) points out that the original form of the Infinitive in *-μεναι* is probably the locative case of an abstract substantive in *-μενα*: thus when joined with an adjective the infinitive denotes the sphere in which the meaning of the adjective is realised. Thus *ῥᾶδιον ποιεῖν* = 'easy in the doing.'

§ 47. *ὅς...ἀποροθῆντος*. Cf. Jelf, 701.

§ 48. *ὁ...φίλους εἶναι*. This refers to the *παῖδας λόγους* which Xenophon tells in I. 27. When Cyrus, at about the age of 17, was recalled from the Median court by his father, he took leave of his kinsfolk with a kiss, *ῥῆμα Περσικῶς*: Artabazus, a Mede, to get the same favour, pretended that he was also a relation: and actually got two kisses.

§ 48. *ἦ καλῶς*. 'Right well.' *ἦ* is probably pronominal in origin, with the meaning 'thus,' 'in this way (and no other)'; and so passes into the sense assigned it by the presumably 4th century (A.D.) grammarian Hesychius, *ἔσως*, 'truly,' as an intensive particle.

πᾶν goes with *ἐρεθίσαν*.

§ 49. *ἐξαγγεῖλαι*. This is told in IV. 1, 23 sqq. Artabazus was chosen by Cyrus 'to publish to the Medes what Cyaxares had said': namely, that any Mede who liked might join the Persian contingent which under Cyrus was about to follow up the first victory over the Assyrians. See Introduction.

§ 50. *ὑπὸ πάντοι*. Cf. IV. 2, 3-20.

μόνον...ἀγαπῶντες. 'We all but carried them about in our arms, such was our affection.' Parallels to this evidently pro-

verbal expression are Plato's ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιφέρειν (Rep. x. 600 D: quoted by Breitenbach), and Terence's *in sinu gestare* (Adelphoe iv. 5, 75).

§ 51. ἔπει γε μέντοι. 'When, however.' γε emphasizes ἐπει. μέντοι here and in the following clauses contrasts what follows with the already existing difficulty (ἤδη ἔργον σου ἦν μεταλαβεῖν, but I still cherished hope, which, however, was soon dashed).

§ 52. ἔνθεν ὁρμήθημεν. The frontiers of Assyria and Media.

§ 53. Μῆθρην. The Persian Sun-God. His worship was established early in the imperial period at Rome, and thence spread widely.

τοί. Cf. note on Chapter III. 9.

§ 54. εἰ μὲν...μεθέξομεν. For the aposiopesis cf. Jelf, 860, 3 c.

πάλιν αἰ. 'Once again'—referring to his previous mission, mentioned in section 49.

§ 55. ἀλλὰ. Cf. Jelf, 774, obs. 3. The word here is adversative to Cyrus' whole speech:—'you have shown us your difficulties,—but I will show you there is no need they should continue.'

§ 56. τοῦτο. i.e. τὸ πλῆθος.

ἔχεις=ἀνακεκτημένον ἔχεις.

οὕς...εἴη. Cf. Jelf, 831, 4 a.

§ 57. Ἑστία. Another transference of Greek usages: Hestia (who does not appear in the list of Persian deities given by Herodotus i. 131) was invoked first in all Greek sacrifices and had the first portion offered to her: οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ σου, says the Homeric hymn to Hestia, line 4,

εἰλαπῖναι θνητοῖσιν, ἵν' οὐ πρώτη πυμάτη τε
Ἑστίη ἀρχόμενος σπένδει μελιηδέα οἶνον.

ἔξηγοθντο. θέω sc.

§ 60. περὶ πλείστου. Cf. Jelf, 632, 2 g.

§ 61. τούτους...θῆνασθαι. The construction is: ἡγεῖτο οὐδέν' ἂν θυνάσθαι ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτὸν (himself) εὐεργετοῦντα (in benefitting) τούτους. The use of οὐδένα here shows greater certainty in the opinion expressed than is given by the μή...ποτέ, also with a verb of thinking, in section 59.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο. 'For this reason, if for no other.'

§ 63. καὶ...γε. Cf. note on Chapter II. 10.

§ 65. εἰ δὲ...ἔρα. 'And if, as may perhaps be the case.'

τι is accusative of extent.

πάντας...εὐνοήτους. 'He employed eunuchs for every post of personal service to himself.' A construction, similarly awkward at first sight, is quoted by Hertlein from Plato, Republic, vi. 503 B: τοὺς ἀκριβεστάτους φύλακας φιλοσόφους δεῖ καθιστάναι, 'we must make the most rigid guardians out of philosophers.'

ἐλάττωνας. 'Fewer.'

§ 70. ὥπως μὴ ἀνήσουσι. Cf. Jelf, 812, 1 and 2.

§ 71. ὁμοτίμους. 'Peers': the Persian nobles who had 'shared equally' in the highest Persian culture.

ἐπικαίριοι. Cf. note on section 7.

§ 72. οἵτινες. '(Subjects) who.'

§ 73. μηδεὶς γε. The γε here (cf. note on chapter II. 10) emphasizes μηδεὶς, and is not connected with the preceding καί.

§ 74. τὸ μέντοι...γινώσκω. 'With regard, however, to the future, this is my judgment.' τὸ ἐκ τοῦδε (cf. note on Chapter I. 11) is direct object to γινώσκω.

τάχυν...ἔσεσθαι. The regular construction after (γινώσκω) ὅτι would have been ταχὺ ἡμεῖς ὀλίγου ἔξοι ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔσόμεθα. This is lost sight of in the length of the intervening clauses, and a new construction is introduced with φημι. Cf. note on section 37.

τοί. Cf. note on Chapter III. 9.

§ 75. τὸ...γενέσθαι. With proper aorist force: 'the having been once.'

αὐτοῦ. i.e. τοῦ εἶναι (ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα), implied in τὸ γενέσθαι.

καὶ τὰ σώματα γε. γε emphasizes σώματα: καὶ is merely copulative.

πονήρως πάλιν ἔχει. 'Change and become in evil state.' The original sense of πάλιν, as in Homer, is one of place, 'backwards': from which the notion of change easily develops. So in the following clause πάλιν τρέπεται is 'takes a backward turn.'

§ 76. ἐγένετο. 'Has happened.'

οὐκέτι τοῦτο ἄνευ σωφροσύνης...γίνεται. 'When you come to *that*, it is no longer a matter to be accomplished without temperance—' Cf. the similar use, in positive clauses, of ὅθι: Jelf, 719, 4 b.

§ 77. ἄλλως τε καὶ. i.e. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἂν: 'especially if': literally, 'both in other cases and also if.'

ἐπιβουλευθέντες. The Assyrian king having been the aggressor.

§ 78. μετὰ...αὐτοῖς. The MS. reading is μετὰ τοῦτο κράτιστον, followed in the Paris and Wolfenbüttel MSS. by αὐτοῖς, in the Erlangen MS. by ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. κράτιστον certainly looks like a marginal gloss on τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, which means 'the thing next' (as we say, next-best) 'to this (favour of the gods)': and Dindorf accordingly strikes it out. The sense is the same with any of the readings: viz. 'The next best thing to this, however, we must get for ourselves.'

ἀξιοθν. 'To determine.'

μὲν οὖν. Cf. note on Chapter I. 30.

§ 79. αὐτούς. Sc. ἡμᾶς.

ὡςπερ γε. 'Just as absolutely as.'

οἰκειότατα...βούλωνται. 'Whatever they wish for is most their own,' i.e. most readily attainable. The alteration of ἂν into ὅταν (making οἰκειότατα refer to ὅπλα, 'most familiar') is against all MS. authority.

§ 80. ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἔη. This is Cobet's emendation for the MSS. ἀπ'οῖ or εἶρ. ἀπ'οῖ would be doubtful Greek: ἀπ'ἔη, an easy correction, is difficult to get sense from: Breitenbach, who reads it, appears to take it as 'starts in pursuit of them' ἀπ'ό, 'from,' some given starting-place: but this meaning is unsupported in Greek (though the Latin *abire* in *Primus abit Nisus*, *Æn.* v. 318, is thus used), and the 'toil beforehand' (*προπονήσας*) does not agree with mere starting. 'Leaving (the arena),' to claim the prize, seems a more likely interpretation, though itself not satisfactory. Cobet's simple alteration gives the meaning of 'advancing to lay hand on' the ἀγαθά: with which Virgil's *ad præmia venit* (*Æn.* v. 345) may be compared.

ἀνευ...τινός. 'Unless the gaining it fulfils some real want'; literally, 'without the obtaining of a thing as one who wants it—'

§ 81. τῶν ἐνδεεστέρων βίου. 'Over those whose means are inferior to his.' βίου, 'means of living,' is genitive after ἐνδεεστέρων (cf. Jelf, 529, 1).

ὥς—after τοσοῦτον. Cf. Jelf, 862 and 863. πενήσας and the following aorist participles have their proper past force: 'after having suffered hunger' etc.

§ 82. ἡ ἀριστον. Cf. note on Chapter I. 9: the expression here is a still further abbreviation.

§ 83. *ἀν προσποιήμεθα*. 'Should we allow ourselves.' Cf. note on Chapter I. 13.

ἔπειτα. 'Why, then—' Cf. Jelf, 874, 6.

ἀλλ' ὅτι. 'Or because.' 'Ἀλλὰ has really its adversative force: 'But (if none of these be the reason) is it because—?'

§ 84. *οὐ δορυφορήσομεν*. The question is really independent, and the *οὐ* is therefore kept even though *εἰ* precedes.

καὶ μὴν. 'And, in truth.' Cf. Jelf, 728 c.

§ 85. *ποθ.* 'In what respect?'

ἐντίμους. 'Nobles.' For their mode of life in Persia, see Introduction, II.

§ 86. *καὶ...δέ*. Cf. note on Chapter I. 1.

οἷς ἂν ἡμῶν γίνωνται=*εἰ τῶ ἡμῶν (παῖδες) γενήσονται*.

BOOK VIII.

For the Context, and the Proper Names in the Narrative, see Introduction I. and Summary of Book VII.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. 'Ἀλλὰ κατενόησα. 'Well, sirs, I have noticed often enough before now—' Cf. note on VII. 5, 55. *ἀλλὰ* is really adversative even here, forming the preparation as it does to Chrysantas' objection *ὃ δέ μοι...δηλῶσαι*. For *μὲν δὲ*, emphasizing *πολλὰκις*, cf. Jelf, 721, 1 sqq.

οἷ τε γὰρ...Κθρός τε. 'For just as...even so.' Cf. Jelf, 754, 3: and the use of *qua...qua* (*qua sacrum qua publicum*, 'sacred and profane alike,' Plaut. Trin. 4. 3. 39) in Latin. The particle is probably relative, thus denoting, in cases where it is doubled as here, that where one thing is predicated, there another is inseparably found.

ὥπως μήποτε...ἐπιλέψει. Cf. note on VII. 5, 70.

ἃφ' ὧν. '(The means) by which.'

§ 2. *δέ*. 'Pray.' Cf. Jelf, as in note on *μὲν δὲ* above.

ἔπειδὴν ἀρξάνται. 'Supposing them at any time to have begun.' Cf. Jelf, 841, and 842, 6.

οἰκῆσειαν. Apparently passive sense, as very commonly in Plato.

δοιοι δεῖ. 'Their destination': literally, 'where it behoves' a ship to arrive: and as the duty of the ship to arrive at its destination is conceived of as universal, not affected by accidents of time or place, the verb stands unmodified in the present indicative.

§ 3. εἰ τοίνυν...οὕτως. 'If, therefore...then.' For τοίνυν cf. Jelf, 790: οὕτως, introducing the apodosis, is an emphasized abbreviation of what has been said in the protasis: and thus is frequently found, after aorist participles, to introduce the main verb. In section 30, it follows δταν.

§ 4. καθήκη. πείθεσθαι sc.

τοσοῦτον...δσον. Accusative of extent.

ταύτην. 'This state, I say.' Emphasizing τὴν...ἐθέλουσαν, a frequent usage in Xenophon: e.g. VII. 5, 75, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρας γενέσθαι τοῦτο: 79, τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐγγυτάτω τῶν δπλων οἷσι τουτοῖς: cf. Jelf, 658, 1. With Chrysantas' (or rather, Xenophon's) doctrine of obedience may be compared the conversation between Socrates and Pericles in the Memorabilia (iii. 5): where the latter complains that the Athenians 'actually pride themselves on despising those in power,' and is told by Socrates that there is still hope, seeing that discipline does yet hold ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς and τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι and τοῖς χοροῖς: and so long as any germ of discipline abides, a state must not be despaired of.

§ 5. ἀρχεῖον. The palace of the Babylonian kings, in which Cyrus had taken up his dwelling: VII. 5, 57. Chrysantas is proposing Cyrus' suggestion made in VII. 5, 85: on which cf. note and references.

χρησθαι. Extension of predicate παρέχωμεν: cf. Jelf, 669, 2: δ τι accusative of extent: δέη χρησθαι sc.

καὶ τοῦτο γάρ. Cf. Jelf, 786, 8.

οὐ μὴ δυνήσεται. Cf. Jelf, 748.

δ τι. '(Anything) in which.' Accusative of extent.

αὐτῷ. Like ἡμῖν following, dative of advantage.

ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. Cf. note on VII. 4, 3.

χρήσεται. ἡμῖν sc.

§ 6. οὕτω δεῖ. 'Thereupon immediately.' Cf. notes on section 3, and VII. 3, 9.

βούληται. The mood and tense of the oratio recta (*παρέχομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σοι χρῆσθαι ὃ τι ἂν βούλη*) is here kept, while in *ἀφείη* the regular form of oratio obliqua appears. Cf. Jelf, 887.

§ 7. **θεραπεύουσι.** For the asyndeton cf. Jelf, 792, 1 c.: and Plato, Rep. 337 E: *ἵνα Σωκράτης τὸ εἰωθὸς διακρίξῃται, αὐτὸς μὲν μὴ ἀποκρίνηται.*

ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. In VII. 5, 72 sqq.

§ 8. **μὲν οὖν.** *μὲν* is answered by *δὲ* in *Κυρὸς δ' ἐπὶ* of the next section. *οὖν*, 'accordingly,' introduces its clause as a consequence of the sentence in section 6 *ἔδοξε...ἀφείη*; the intermediate sentences being parenthetical.

συνδόξαν. Cf. note on VII. 1, 42.

§ 9. **καὶ...δέ.** Cf. note on VII. 1, 1.

βέλτιστα χρῆσθαι. 'In greatest efficiency.' *βέλτιστα* is predicative after *παρέχειν*, and *χρῆσθαι* infinitive of sphere: cf. note on VII. 5, 46.

§ 10. **οἱ.** 'Σὺ': the dative, after the preposition in *συμφύλακας*.

τούτους. The regular construction would be *οἷτοι* as nominative to *ἔσονται*: but the case is attracted by the preceding relative *οὗς*: cf. Jelf, 824, 1 sqq.

ὡς βέλτιστοι. Cf. note on VII. 5, 37.

οὐκέτι. Cf. note on VII. 5, 76. *τὸ δὲ λαβόντα κατέχειν οὐκέτι τοῦτο ἀνεῦ συμφροσύνης...γίγνεται.*

τούτου. Just as *τούτους* in the preceding clause has emphasized *οὗς...ἔχειν*, so does this neuter *τούτου*, genitive after *ἐπιμέλειαν*, emphasize *ὅπως...ἔσονται*: cf. note on section 4. The whole passage might be turned thus: 'But with respect to those whose help in keeping his good fortune he thought needful to have, in his desire that they should be as good men as possible he did not, as in the cases mentioned before, entrust the charge of this point to others, but regarded it as his own business.'

ληπτέον...καταστατέον. Cf. Jelf, 613.

§ 11. **καὶ...γε.** 'And, lastly': a collocation here introducing a final clause as the most important of the series. Cf. Jelf, 735, 10.

§ 12. **οἷων δέ.** Cf. Jelf, 822 sqq.

ἐνόμιζε...ἀρετῆς. 'He determined that the same practice of virtue should be his as well': literally, 'he considered that the same practice of virtue belonged (i.e. as a duty) to him as well.' It seems hardly justifiable to say that *νομίζειν* ever really

=ἀξιούν, and in the present case there is no need to press the word out of its ordinary meaning in the active.

οἶον τε. Cf. Jelf, 755, 4.

§ 13. αἷ. 'On the other hand.'

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Epexegetic infinitive to ἀσχολίαν.

§ 14. οὕτω δὲ. 'Sic igitur': οὕτω referring to previous clauses and δὲ continuing the narrative.

ἡσχόλη. 'The (needful) leisure.'

κατενόησέ πως. 'He happened to consider.' The addition of πως ('somehow') seems due to the Attic fondness for softening down all definite assertions, and particularly such as describe states of mind.

§ 15. καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ. καὶ couples Cyrus' case with that of the στρατηγός in the previous section: Cyrus, *as well as* the ideal στρατηγός, got his business done by giving a few orders.

§ 16. τὴν μὲν δὲ σχολήν. Cf. note on VII. 3, 2.

πρῶτον μὲν. Cf. Jelf as in note on section 6.

ὅποσοι...μὴ παρείεν. Cf. Jelf, 832.

§ 16. ἂν ἐθέλειν. Cf. Jelf, 429. The ἂν is repeated before πράττειν: cf. Jelf, 432.

ὁρῶντ' ἂν ὅ τι πράττοιν. 'They would be seen in whatever they did.' The omitted antecedent to the relative ὅ τι would be an accusative of extent. For the optative here and in παρείεν following, cf. Jelf, 831, 3.

§ 17. ἐκέλευσεν ἂν. 'He would bid': as ἦκον ἂν in the next sentence is 'They would come.' Cf. Jelf, 424, 3 β, and 855 β.

ἐπεὶ...γένοιτο. 'So, whenever this happened.' Cf. Jelf, 843, 2, with obs.; and the similar passage in VII. 1, 10 there quoted.

§ 18. θεραπεύειν. 'To pay their court.'

§ 20. ὁπακούοι. Sc. the τις implied in the following τοῦτον.

ἂν ἐβίβου. Like ἐκέλευσεν ἂν above.

§ 21. ἐπέπερ...εἶναι. These words stand in the best MSS., the variant being ἐπέπερ ἄρχων αὐτῶν ἦν, in the Erlangen (Altorpiensis) MS., which seems to have originated (as Zeune points out) in a copyist's confusion of the beginning of ἐνὶ ὁμίξει with εἰ in εἰ αὐτὸς lower down, thus giving αὐτῶν εἰ αὐτός, to make sense of which ἦν was added after αὐτῶν later. The words as they stand in the text have but little force: Cyrus' view of the justice of his sovereignty can hardly be said to affect

the force of his example: and the opinion of Schneider, who bracketed the clause in his edition of 1790, seems rightly adopted by later editors.

§ 22. αἰσθάνεσθαι...ἰδοκεῖ. Cf. *κατενόησέ πως* in section 14. It is possible that Socrates' influence, faintly traceable in Xenophon, may be present in these avoidances of positive statement.

βλέποντα. 'Living and seeing.' βλέπειν is commonly used as = 'living' (seeing the light of day) in the tragedians (οὐ ταύτόν, δὲ παῖ, τῇ βλέπειν τὸ κατθανεῖν says Hecuba in the Troades 627); and Xenophon expands this idea in the following sentence. With his personification of law in a king may be contrasted Aristotle's view of law as νοῦς ἄνευ ὁρέξεως, 'passionless reason,' in the Politics iii. 16, 5: the rule of which is the rule necessarily of God and of reason, while the rule of man must have some admixture of the animal (τὸ θηρίον); ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦτον (i.e. animal), καὶ δὲ θυμὸς ἄρχοντας διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας.

§ 23. οὕτω δῆ. Cf. note on section 14.

οἱ μάγοι. Cf. note on VII. 5, 35.

§ 24. οὕτω goes with διαμένει: δῆ is continuative.

ἢν θεραπεύωσι. Cf. note on section 6, where the subjunctive βούληται is similarly kept in oratio obliqua.

καὶ...δῆ. Cf. note on VII. 1, 1.

§ 25. οἱ πλεῖν...δοκούντων. We may compare Eteocles' words in Aeschylus (Septem contra Thebas 595) 'In every deed no greater ill is there than evil company':—for before now

... ξυνεισβάς πλοῖον εὖσεβῆς ἀνὴρ
ναῦταισι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργία τινι
δῶλεν ἀνδρῶν ξὺν θεοκτύπτῳ γένει·

and Horace witnesses to the same feeling among the Romans of four centuries later, in his 'Votabo... fragilem solvat phaselon' (Odes iii. 2, 26).

§ 26. περὶ πολλοῦ. Cf. Jelf, 632, 2 g.

πορίζεσθαι. τὰ κέρδη εἰς.

φετ' ἄν. For the place of ἄν cf. Jelf, 424, 3 γ: the conditional particle seems attracted towards the verb expressing opinion.

§ 28. μὴ γὰρ οὕτω. For μὴ...οὕτω, cf. Jelf, 762, 2: and for γὰρ, referring to τοῦδε, and not translated in English, Jelf, 786, 1 β.

§ 30. οἱ γε ἀσθενέστεροι. 'The weaker, naturally enough': as contrasted with ὁ μάλιστα ἔξεστιν ὑβρίζειν.

§ 31. ὥς...φεύγοντας. The abstracts αἰδῶ and σωφροσύνην are resolved into the persons whose actions fall under either term, and these persons stand in apposition to the abstracts. Perhaps all the cases of a so-called *absolute* accusative with ὥς may be explained as accusatives with indirect or implied government. Cf. Jelf, 703, c.

§ 32. προπονεῖν...εὐφροσυνῶν. Zeune, followed by Liddell and Scott, gives προπονεῖν τῶν εὐφρ. the sense of 'working so as to obtain enjoyments.' If the words as they stand are kept, this interpretation seems the only possible one, and εὐφροσυνῶν must be taken as partitive genitive: for προπονεῖν takes regularly an accusative of that which is won by the previous labour. The only alternative seems to be the striking out of τῶν εὐφρ.; but it appears in all the MSS.

§ 33. τοιγαροῦν. 'So then, to sum up.' οὖν gives the sense of finality; cf. note on VII. 3, 10.

§ 34. μὲν δῆ. Cf. note on VII. 3, 13.

καὶ...δέ. Cf. note on VII. 1, 1.

§ 36. τὴν ἐγκράτειαν...φέρειν. ἐγκράτειαν and πόνους...φέρειν are both accusative (of thing, as κοινῶνας is of person, taught) after προσελθίς. A similar mixture of accusative noun and accusative sentence is frequent in Tacitus: e.g. 'scelera principis et finem adesse imperio—iaciunt' (Annals xv. 50, 1).

§ 37. τὰς μελέτας. i.e. τὰς πολεμικὰς μ.

§ 38. μένειν. οἴκοι sc.

παράδεισους. 'Parks.' The literal meaning of this Graecized Persian word (given by Kiepert as, in Zend, *pairīdāeza*) appears to be 'enclosure.' παράδεισοι are described in Xenophon's Oeconomics (iv. 13) as 'gardens πάντων καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν μεστοὶ δπόσα ἡ γῆ φύειν ἐθέλει'; and the keeping of beasts of the chase in them seems originally to have been a secondary consideration, to judge from Cyrus' account in I. 4, 11 (the beasts in Astyages' park are λεπτὰ καὶ ψωραλέα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν χωλὸν ἦν, τὸ δὲ κολοβόν). Quintus Curtius (viii. 1, 11) describes them, probably from Greek sources, as *spatiosas silvas, crebris peronniū aquarum fontibus amoenas; muris cinguntur, turresque habent venantium receptacula*. The word passed into later Hebrew, and becomes biblical in the Septuagint use of it to translate the Eden of Genesis.

σκηπτούχους. 'Wand-bearers.' What their functions were is not quite certain; but that one of them was to guard the

sovereign's person appears from 3, 15 below. The attendants of Pantheia, herself a queen, are called *σκηπτούχοι* in the (probably interpolated) passage VII. 3, 15.

§ 39. *τοιγαροῦν*. Cf. note on section 33.

πολὺ μὲν...πολὺ δέ. Cf. Jelf, 764, obs. 3, c. The original meaning of the particles, 'firstly'—'secondly,' is clearest when they are used as here with a repeated word.

μὲν δή. Cf. note on VII. 3, 13.

ἔδραις. Cf. Chapter IV. 3 seqq.

§ 40. *τοῦ Κόρου*. Cf. Jelf, 485. The sentence *ὥς...διαφέρειν* is object to *καταμαθεῖν*: *τοῦ Κόρου* is exactly parallel to the English genitive in the phrase 'to notice anything of (i.e. as existing in the case of) anyone.'

καταγοητεύειν. 'Use trickery with them.' Plato defines *τοὺς γοητευθέντας* (Rep. iii. 413 B end) as those who change a previously-held opinion *ἢ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς κληθέντες ἢ ὑπὸ φόβου τι δέσσαντες*.

γοῦν. 'At any rate': whether our *δόξα* is right or wrong. Cf. Jelf, 737, 8 sqq.; and II. 1, 5 (quoted by Hertlein): Cyaxares says that the Assyrian king will bring enormous forces of cavalry and chariots, *πεζοὺς δέ, οἶμαι παμπόλλους· εἰώθει γοῦν, ὅποτε δεῦρ' ἐμβάλλοι*: 'and infantry, I suppose, in very large numbers: he is wont to do so, at any rate' (whether my present supposition is right or wrong) 'whenever he invades this country.'

στολὴν...Μηδικήν. Herodotus (vii. 62) gives the Persian dress—which he says in the following chapter is really *Μηδική* *καὶ οὐ Περσική*, it having been adopted (i. 135) by the Persians, *νομίσαντες τῆς ἐωντῶν εἶναι καλλίω*—as a high-crowned hat (*τίδρα*) of felt: sleeved tunic (*κιθὼν χειριδωτὸς*) of various colours: and trousers (*ἀναξυρίδες*). Ammian, writing from personal knowledge of the Persians of the 4th century A.D., shows that the splendour of their dress was still preserved: *indumentis operiuntur lumine colorum fulgentibus vario*: these are open at the side, but still *inter calceos et verticem nihil videtur intectum* (xxiii. 6).

§ 41. *τοιαῦτα...τι*. 'Such as most easily allow the wearer to add some artificial heightening without detection.' *καὶ ὑποτιθεμένους τι λαθεῖν* (*καί* = 'even') is subject to *μάλιστα ἔστι* (*ἔστι* = *ἔξεστι*: cf. Jelf, 669, 1). Aristophanes frequently mentions *Περσικαὶ* (*ἐμβάδες*) as women's foot-covering, enclosing the whole foot (*περιέφυσαν*, Clouds 151), like a modern boot; this would easily admit of false soles being put in.

ὑποχρῖσθαι...ὀφθαλμοὺς...καὶ ἐντρίβεσθαι. Astyages, the Median king, is described in I. 3, 2 as adorned ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῇ, 'with pencilling under his eyes,' καὶ χρώματος ἐντρίψει, 'and paint rubbed in (to his skin).' The eyelids were stained at their edges with antimony (Jezebel in Kings ii. 9, 30 'set her eyes in antimony'), and lines were drawn with it under the eyes: the white and red paints for the face (on the use of which there is an amusing discussion between a Greek husband and wife in Xenophon's Oeconomics 10, 2) were made of white lead and alkanet respectively.

§ 42. μήτε πτύοντες. In I. 2, 16 Xenophon mentions this as one of the μαρτύρια, among the Persians as he knew them, of their moderation in living: ταῦτα...οὐκ ἂν ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτη μετρίᾳ ἐχρῶντο καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκπονοῦντες ἀνῆλiskon ὥστε ἄλλῃ πρ (in sweat) ἀποχωρεῖν: and the habit was in force in Ammian's time still (*loc. cit.*).

§ 43. μὲν δή. Cf. note on VII. 2, 14.

§ 44. καὶ γάρ. Cf. Jelf, 786, 7.

ἔστε ἐμφάγοιεν τι. 'While they took a little food.' Cf. note on VII. 1, 1.

§ 46. πολλοὺς δὲ...αὐτοῖς. The sentence loses the relative construction (οὗς...ἑώρα) with which it began, and is broken into detached independent clauses, which are gathered up by ὑπὸ τούτων οὖν. Cf. Jelf, 833.

παθεῖν τι here and in section 45 is a good instance of Greek euphemism; the τι=κακόν τι; cf. the English 'If anything happens to me.'

§ 47. καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων. 'Their relations, too, with himself.'

ταύτην. Object attracted into agreement with κατάλυσιν, predicate.

§ 48. ὥς οὖν. 'In what way, then.'

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. γάρ. Continuative particle, not translated in English: cf. note on I. 28.

τοὺς γνωσθέντας ὥς φιλοῦσι. 'Those who are known to love.' The active construction γινώσκω σε ὥς φιλεῖς is logically carried out in the passive γινώσκη ὥς φίλεις.

ἂν δύνασθαι. Cf. note on I. 26.

§ 2. ὥς μὲν οὖν. 'So long, then, as.' The particles are independent of each other, μὲν being answered by δὲ in ἐπειδὴ δὲ lower down, and οὖν being continuative.

προπονεῖν. 'Labouring for them': the regular sense with a following genitive, to which the use in Chapter I. 32 is an exception.

τῷ συνηδόμενος...φανερὸς εἶναι. 'By plainly showing that he rejoiced with them.' Cf. for the construction Thucydides' τῷ μὴ προέχων ἐπελθεῖν ἀποτρέπεται, '(the would-be transgressor) is deterred by not having the better of his adversary in attacking,' III. 11, 1, quoted by Jelf, 672, 4.

τούτους. Cf. note on I. 4.

ἐγένετο...εὐεργετεῖν. Cf. Jelf, 669, 1, obs. 1.

ἀπὸ...δαπάνης. 'That can be bestowed at the same cost.' Cf. Jelf, 620, 3e.

§ 5. μέντοι. 'However.' Properly adversative to an implied doubt of the previous statement.

τῷ ὄντι...τραπέζης. Cf. Jelf, 730 a.

ἐξεργασμέναι εἰσι. 'Are found to be elaborated.' A similar force is in the following ἐκτεπύνηται: cf. Jelf, 899, 3.

ἀγαπᾷ. 'Is content.'

ἀνάγκη...ποιεῖν. 'It follows necessarily, then, that the man occupied in work that takes shortest time is always bound to do this work best': as he has most time to spend upon his work, he will naturally (in Xenophon's view) turn out that work best. διατρίβειν (originally with χρόνον, which is then omitted) is 'to spend time.' For τοῦτον, cf. note on I. 4. καὶ has its copulative force with the two superlatives: as the ἔργον is βραχύτατον so also ought it to be done ἄριστα. With διηναγκάσθαι cf. ἡναγκάσθαι in VII. 5, 60; the perfect marks the compulsion as a thing that has often happened and is constantly recurring.

§ 6. ἀνάγκη...ἔχειν. 'Things must, I imagine, in his case, go even as they may': i.e. anyhow. The construction is (πάντα) οὕτως ἔχειν τούτῳ (dat. incommodi) ὥς ἂν ἕκαστον προχωρῇ ἀνάγκη (ἐστίν). For ὥς ἂν with subjunctive cf. Jelf, 868, 3. προχωρεῖν is 'to go (well or ill),' of things: so ὥς...προχωρῇ is literally 'in whatever way each thing may go.'

§ 7. μὲν...οὖν. Cf. note on I. 8.

§ 8. φανεροί. εἰσι sc. βασιλεῖ. φίλοι sc.

ψέλια...χρυσουχάλινοι. These three are frequently mentioned together as bestowed by Persian kings: in the Anabasis (i. 2, 27) they are called ἀ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια.

δη. 'As a matter of fact.'

§ 9. ἐδυνάσθη. 'Was ever able.' The form is one of Xenophon's Ionisms: the regular Attic being ἐδυνήθη.

§ 11. ἐκ τούτου δη. 'From this fact, accordingly.'

πρὸς δι καὶ. 'Besides, too.'

τοῦ φάσκοντος goes with πατὴρ.

§ 12. οὕτως οὖν. οὖν, which has coalesced with οὕκ as it does so often with relatives (ὅστις οὖν, e.g.), is continuative, 'so then': for οὕχ οὕτως cf. Jelf. 762, 2.

§ 13. ἐκείνος τοίνυν. 'Now he certainly.' Cf. Jelf, 790, 2.

λέγεται κατὰδηλος εἶναι ἂν αἰσχυνθεῖς. 'Is spoken of as showing himself susceptible of shame.' κατὰδηλος εἶναι αἰσχυνθεῖς is parallel to φανερός εἶναι συνηδόμενος in section 2: ἂν modifies αἰσχυνθεῖς into 'likely to feel shame': cf. Jelf, 429, 4.

μηδενί...οὕτως...ἡττώμενος. 'At being outdone in nothing so much.' ἡττώμενος being equivalent to εἰ ἡττᾶτο takes, in its dative of sphere μηδενί, μὴ as the negative. οὕτως qualifies αἰσχυνθεῖς.

§ 14. τὸν τε γὰρ νομέα...τόν τε βασιλέα. Cf. note on I. 1.

ἡ...εὐδαιμονία. Not, 'which (i.e. the using them) is the happiness of sheep' (the Greek for this would be δ...εὐδαιμονία), but 'so far as there is a happiness of sheep,' so far as sheep can be spoken of as happy. The clause goes back in reference to εὐδαίμονα τὰ κτήνη ποιοῦντα: and fully set out the sentence would appear thus: ἔφη χρῆναι τὸν νομέα, ποιοῦντα τὰ κτήνη εὐδαίμονα, (τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν 'to the extent of the happiness') ἢ δὴ (ἔστι) προβάτων εὐδαιμονία, χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. With the time-honoured comparison of king and shepherd, it is worth while to compare the sophistic view as given by Thrasymachus in the Republic (343 B). Socrates is there ridiculed for thinking that shepherds look to the good of their flocks, or rulers to the good of their subjects disinterestedly: the truth being that the shepherd, in the sophistic view, so far from looking to the good of the flock, looks, ὥσπερ δαιτυμόνα τινα καὶ μέλλοντα ἐστιάσεσθαι, πρὸς τὴν εὐωχίαν, ἢ αὖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποδόσθαι, 'like a banqueter and one who is going to make good cheer, to the feasting he shall have out of them, or, may be, to the selling them' (345 c).

εἰπερ. 'Siquidem, seeing that.' τὸ...περιγίγνεσθαι is subject to οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν (ἔστι). Breitenbach takes it as in apposition to γνώμην, and εἰπερ evidently as = ὅτι after θαυμαστὸν, thus giving an entirely different sense: 'It was no wonder, then, that

he held this determination, namely, to be emulous of surpassing all men in attention (to his friends).' But this makes *εἶπερ* = *ei*, which is altogether without support.

§ 15. *ἐξόν*. Cf. Jelf, 700.

ἐξ οὗτου...εἰμι. '*ex quo tempore sum*': cf. Jelf, 396, 2.

§ 16. *φάναι*. *λέγεται* sc.

ἂν δύναιτο. 'Could (on emergency).'

§ 17. *φέρειν*. Cf. Jelf, 669, 2.

ὁ δὲ Ὑστάσπας εἶπεν. 'Then he, Hystaspas, said.' *δὲ* emphasizes the personality of Hystaspas as contrasted with the *πάντες* who have received him as Cyrus' friend.

§ 17. *ἤδη*. 'Now and henceforth.'

§ 18. *ἦν...χρησθαι*. Cf. note on I. 5.

§ 19. *φάναι*. Repeated after *εἰπεῖν* (*λέγεται*) as *ἔφη* after *εἶπεν* in VII. 5, 48, and frequently.

ὅς...θησαυροῖς. 'That even I' (careless as you think me) 'have treasures.'

§ 20. *ἐγὼ γάρ*. Cf. note on I. § 28.

ὁ μὲν. i.e. *τὴν ἀπληστίαν*.

§ 21. *ἐπειδὴν...κτῆσονται*. Cf. note on I. 2.

§ 22. *πράγματα*. Predicative after *ἔχουσι*: 'their superfluous wealth they possess as a trouble to them.' Here the primary sense of the phrase is found: its secondary one is seen above in *ἀριθμοῦντες...πράγματα ἔχουσι*, 'they are troubled': where *πράγματα* really ceases to have an independent existence as a word, and the verb and its accusative coalesce into one idea.

§ 22. *ὕπηρετῶ*. 'Submit': by acquiescing in the infirmity of human nature.

καὶ ὀρέγομαι. 'In grasping at.' *καὶ* is expegetic, like the Latin *atque* in Livy's '*clamore atque assensu*,' 'with shouts of approval' (shouts that were approval), xxi. 3: cf. Jelf 759, 1.

κουφοτέρους. 'Of lighter heart': cf. Horace's *non praeter solitum leves* (Odes I. vi. 20).

§ 23. *μὲν δὲ*. Cf. notes on VII. 3, 13.

§ 24. *τούτου*. Cf. notes on I. 4 and 10.

τούς τε. *τε* is here connective of the two sentences *ἔδοξεν...*

αὐτῷ and τοὺς...θέλειν: this usage being most common in Thucydides; cf. Jelf, 754, 7.

τῷ τελεῖν ἐθέλειν. 'By being willing to pay them well.' Herodotus (i. 197) speaks of the Babylonians as having no physicians: so their introduction probably was a matter of difficulty: and τελεῖν seems to resemble the English 'pay' in having also the secondary sense of 'paying highly' for a thing. The income of an *ιστρός* who was paid by the state, first of Aegina, then of Athens, and then of Samos, is given by Herodotus (iii. 131) as severally one talent, 100 minae, and two talents: i.e. allowing for the difference of the talent, about £344, £407, and £487.

οὐδὲν...δ τι οὐχί. Cf. Jelf, 824, 2.

§ 25. τοῖς...λαμβάνων. 'By means of the things' (i.e. drugs, &c.) 'which he received from him' (i.e. Cyrus): literally, 'by means of the things (got) from him, whenever he received them.' The present participle expresses the indefinite frequency of the receiving: cf. Jelf, 705 γ and δ.

§ 26. ταῦτα μὲν. μὲν contrasts ταῦτα with οἱ ἀγῶνες οὗτοι and τῷ Κόρῳ with τοῖς ἀρίστοις, in the following clause: cf. note on VII. 1, 3.

§ 27. τῷ δικάῳ. Instrumental dative: 'by the justice of his case.'

§ 28. πόλεισι. 'Free states': where the δῆμος would represent the sovereign whose favour was sought.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. μεμηχανημένων. With middle sense, like ἐσπασμένον in VII. 5, 29.

τῶν ἄλλων=τῶν συμμάχων.

§ 3. ἐξέφερε δῆ. 'He then went on to bring out': for δῆ cf. note on VII. 3, 9; the imperfect marks the continuance of the main action.

οὐδέν. Accusative of extent: cf. οὐδὲν φειδόμενος τῶν ἱππων, of Abradatas' charge, in VII. 1, 29.

τὸ μέρος. 'The (due) share.'

§ 4. ἔφη. Cf. note on II. 19.

οὐ γὰρ...δοκῶ. 'Why, do I not seem—?' literally, '(you ask this) because I do not seem—?' Cf. Jelf, 786, 1, obs. 1.

ἀμέλει. 'Be sure': literally, 'do not trouble yourself,' imperative from ἀμελῶ: then, like the Latin imperative *proba* ('for instance') passing into an adverb or conjunction.

§ 5. οὕτω δῆ. '*Tum demum*,' 'hereupon': cf. note on VII 3, 9.

δς...συνεῖπε. See Introduction under *Phoraulas*.

τοῦτον δῆ. Cf. notes on I 4, and VII 3, 9.

κάλλιστα ἰδεῖν. 'In the way fairest to be seen.' *κάλλιστα* is neuter adjective plural 'used adverbially': for the infinitive cf. note on VII 5, 46.

§ 6. ὅπως...γένηται. Cf. note on *ὅτι ἂν βούληται*, I. 6.

§ 7. ἐπεὶ ἰδοῖεν. Cf. Jelf, 843, 1.

ὁπότε...τάξεις. Cf. Jelf, 840.

οὐ μόνον γε. τάξω sc.

§ 8. ἐπελέληστο. 'Immediately forgot': cf. the similar use of the pluperfect to express the speedy sequence of one action or state after another in I. 4, 1 (quoted by Breitenbach): and Jelf, 400.

συμβουλευσας ἄν. 'When he had given counsel in each case.' ἄν with the aorist participle has the same force as with the indicative aorist in section 17 (*ἐκέλευσεν ἄν*), on which cf. note.

ὁ μὲν δὲ Φεραύλας. Resumptive of *ὁ δὲ συμβουλευσας* etc.

§ 9. τῆς ὁδοῦ. Partitive genitive: cf. VII 5, 10 *ἔγθεν καὶ ἔγθεν τοῦ τείχους*.

εἰς τετρακισχιλίου. Cf. note on VII 1, 4.

εἰς τέτταρας. 'Four deep.' Cf. Jelf, 625, 3 d.

διειρκότες...βασιλεύς. The *ἐνδυς* was an upper coat, worn with empty sleeves (as seen in Hungarian costume at the present day); through these sleeves the *ἐπὶ τοῖς* was required, in the presence of the king, to thrust his arms, (than which the sleeves were much longer) and to betoken thus, by renouncing the use of his hands, his complete submission to his sovereign. This is explained in detail in the *Hellenics* ii. 1, 8. The sculptured ruins of Persepolis give many illustrations of such processions as Xenophon here describes: some groups from them are figured in Seemann's *Kunsthistorische Bilderbogen*, 36-39.

§ 10. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι. Cf. note on VII 5, 17.

§ 11. τῷ Διὶ. Cf. note on VII. 1, 1.

πολὺ goes with μάλλον χρῆναι χρῆσθαι οἴονται.

§ 12. οἱ ἱπποὶ. In apposition with ἄρμα: cf. Jelf, 467, obs. 6.

§ 13. ὀρθὴν...τιδραν. The wearing the τιδρα upright is mentioned in Anabasis II. 5, 23 as a distinction belonging to the king only: all Persian nobles wore it ἐπτυγμένην, 'falling in a fold,' καὶ προβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ μέτωπον (Scholiast on Aristophanes' Birds 487).

μεσόλευκον. 'Striped with white': cf. the 'royal apparel of blue and white' in Esther viii. 15.

§ 14. τὰς δὲ...εἶχε. In contrast to his ἱππεῖς: the sleeves being evidently shorter.

ὅπως οὖν. 'However it was': cf. Jelf, 737, 7.

§ 15. σὺν τοῖς παλτοῖς. 'With the (customary) javelins.'

ἀμφὶ τοῦς τριακοσίους. 'To about the number of 300 in all.' Cf. Jelf, 455, 1.

§ 16. ἱππεῖς...γενόμενοι. 'The original horsemen': those whom Cyrus had first made horsemen of, as described in Book IV. 3, 3 seqq.

§ 19. τῶν σημείων=τῶν στίχων, section 9.

§ 20. τοὺτους...ἕκαστον. The English construction is: ἐκάλει τοὺτους καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον πρὸς αὐτόν, πέμπων τινα.

§ 21. ἀνὰ κρᾶτος. Cf. Jelf, 624, 3a

σολοικότερος. 'Somewhat boorish.' The word seems originally applied to barbarisms in language (as the derivation accepted by the Greeks,—from Σόλοι, the Cilician town, where Attic was corrupted—would imply): and thence transferred to conduct, as πλημμελής (a term originally used of music) was.

§ 23. αὐτοῦ. i.e. Δαϊφέρνου: genitive after ὅστερον.

§ 24. ὠλοκαύτησαν. A Greek usage on solemn occasions: the Persians, according to Herodotus (i. 132), used no altar in sacrifice, and did not burn the offering, but boiled it.

ἦρωσι. So Xerxes, before crossing the Hellespont, bids his men pray τοῖσι θεοῖσι τοὶ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι (Herod. vii. 53).

§ 25. τῶν ἀποστάντων. 'Who had revolted.' This is Madvig's conjecture for the MS. δ προστατῶν or (in the Erlangen MS.) τῶν πάντων. Gadatas could be not called 'the commander' of the Assyrians, and τῶν πάντων gives little sense.

ἀπέλιπεν ἄρα. 'He actually out-stripped.' Cf. Jelf, 788, 5 (the different stopping there adopted not really altering the sense), and VII. 3, 6 there quoted.

§ 26. **ὅτι.** Introducing oratio recta: cf. Jelf, 802, obs. 8.

χάριν...καταθέσθαι. Object to **δεξαίμην**: cf. note on I. 36. The infinitive has a potential sense (cf. note on VII. 1, 1 **ὅτι-ποιεῖν**): 'I would not take a kingdom, but the chance of laying up a store of gratitude with some good man I would take.'

§ 27. **καὶ μὴν.** 'See here—.' Cf. Jelf, 728 c, end: the phrase introduces something either unexpected, or (as here) developing as a novelty from what has gone before.

§ 29. **ἀλλ' οὐ μέντοι.** 'Well, but surely not—.' **μέντοι** emphasizes **οὐ**: cf. Jelf, 730 a.

συγε. English would emphasize the asserted action—'Yes, you *have*—': Greek, in cases like this where an action is matter of debate between two persons (either as to its occurrence or as to its propriety), emphasizes the person addressed. Under this head comes the frequent use of **μὴ σύγε** in prohibitions: *sg.* Iocasta, dissuading Eteocles from following after ambition, says (Phoenissae 531) **τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι φιλοτιμίας, παῖ; μὴ σύγ'** *ἄδικος ἢ θεός*: where English would say 'nay, do not so.'

§ 30. **καὶ πῶς;** 'And how comes it that—'?

μαινόμενος γάρ. Cf. Jelf, 786, obs. 1.

§ 31. **καὶ...γε.** Cf. note on VII. 2, 10.

§ 32. **δοῦναί μοι ποιῆσαι.** 'To grant me to bring it to pass.' **ποιῆσαι** (*ἐμὲ sc.*, subject accusative) seems inserted as antithesis to **ἐποίησαν** before.

§ 33. **τὸν...βοῦν.** 'The ox, then (which fell to his share).'

Cf. Jelf, 444, obs. 3.

§ 34. **πλήν.** 'Only.' Cf. Jelf, 773, obs. 4.

§ 37. **ποίων πλουσίων;** 'What rich men are you talking about?' The Latin *qualis* is similarly used in repeating a person's words with surprise or irony.

μὲν οὖν. *Immo*, 'nay, rather': cf. Jelf, 880 g.

τοι. 'I tell you': cf. note on VII. 3, 9.

τήν...παιδείαν. Cf. Introduction, § IV.

§ 40. **ἦ γάρ;** 'Why, do you actually—?' Cf. Jelf, 873, 1, and 786, 2.

πλεῖω...δεῖ. For the asyndeton, cf. note on I. 7.

§ 42. **πολλὰ πλάσια ἐμοῦ.** 'Many times more than I.' Cf. Jelf, 502.

ἦδύ. *οὕτω sc.*

§ 46. *ἐγένου*. Horace's *tempus erat dapibus* (Odes I. xxxvii. 4) may be compared with this use of the aorist: the Sacan *might have become* happy some time ago.

χρῶ γε. 'Make use (of them), as far as *that* goes.'

μηδὲν ἄλλο. The general sense of action which is felt to be coming in *τρέφε* influences this accusative: so that the sense = *μηδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖ ἢ...τρέφε*.

§ 47. *ἦ μήν*. Cf. note on VII. 2, 12.

§ 48. *ἦ*. Cf. note on *βούληται*, I. 6.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 2. *οὐδ' ἐκάθειζε*. 'Did not sit, any more (than the *σκηπτοῦχοι*):' cf. the similar use of *μηδὲ* in VII. 1, 20: *ὅπως μηδὲ οὗτοι σχοῶσι*.

αὐτοί. 'By themselves.'

§ 3. *ἔσιν*. The hypothesis is put generally, as Xenophon is not thinking of any particular case. 'Supposing these to be more, the same arrangement holds good.'

§ 4. *τοῦτο*. Cf. note on I. 1, 4.

§ 6. *πολλά*. 'In great abundance': predicative with *εἶναι*.

μόνον. 'By himself.'

ἔργον...δεόμενον. 'Giving himself trouble to ask.'

ἔστιν οἷς. 'To some.' Cf. Jelf, 817, 5.

§ 7. *εἶπεν ἄρα*. 'Could not help saying.' *ἄρα* marks *εἶπεν* as (here a natural) consequence of the circumstances previously stated: the assertion in Jelf as quoted on III. 25 seems mistaken in its exclusion of this sense of *ἄρα*.

ἀλλ' ἐγώ. 'Well, I—.' Cf. note on I. 1.

ἦ μήν. 'Verily.' Cf. note on VII. 2, 12.

§ 8. *καὶ...καὶ ἐπιδείκνυμαι*. 'And, what is more, I actually show forth—.' *μὲν δὲ* emphasizes the first *καὶ*, as introducing generally some addition to Gobryas' opinion (cf. Jelf, 721, 1 sqq.); the second *καὶ* introduces the particular addition *ἐπιδείκνυμαι*. Similarly, two negatives are found, one negating a clause generally, the other negating some particular of it, as in VII. 2, 20.

τὰ μὲν...εἶ. 'The one sort of works one has to show forth by doing men harm, the other, by doing them good.' The con-

struction is: ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὰ μὲν (στρατηγίας ἔργα) δεῖ (τινα) κακῶς ποιῶντα ἀνθρώπους, etc.

§ 9. ὑπέπινον. 'Had well drunk.'

τοῦναντίον τοῦτου. Accusative of extent with ἀχθόμενην, 'Just the contrary of that, I should be angry—.'

λέγε δὲ μοι. 'Tell me, then—.' Cf. Jelf, 721, 1 sqq.

εὐφήμει. 'Do not ask such a question': literally, 'speak words of good omen,' a request, like Terence's 'Bona verba, quaeso' (Andria i. 2, 33), implying a protest against the previous speaker's utterance as outrageous.

ἀλλ' ὑπακούων. 'Or, in obeying—.' Cf. note on VII. 5, 83.

πράττοιμι. Cf. Jelf, 881, 3: and Chapter I. 16.

§ 10. τίνος μὴν ἔνεκα. 'Well, then, why—?' The use of μὴν in interrogative phrases may perhaps be paralleled by our colloquial 'Look here—.' The question it introduces is thrown into contrast with the previously stated facts. Cf. Jelf, 728, 1 seqq.

ἦ λέγω; 'Am I really to say?' λέγω is interrogative subjunctive (cf. εἶπω τι τῶν εἰσθότων, ᾧ δέσποτα; Frogs, 1): for ἦ cf. note on VII. 5, 48.

§ 11. ἡσθήσομαι μὲν οὖν. 'I shall be glad, rather—.' Cf. note on 3, 37.

§ 12. Ἥραν. Like Hestia in VII. 5, 57, unknown to Herodotus as a Persian deity.

τὸ Περσικόν. ὄρχημα sc. This is described in Anabasis vi. 1, 10: the dancer alternately sank on his knees and rose to his full height, beating time to the music with two shields.

§ 13. ὅτε...συνεγένον. Cf. V. 2, 7 seqq., where Gobryas puts all his possessions in Cyrus' power, and makes him guardian of his daughter: but seems somewhat sceptical as to Cyrus' praise of the ἀγαθοὶ φίλοι from among whom she is to find a husband.

καὶ γὰρ. 'I, too—': as well as you, in answering Hystaspas.

νῦν δὲ. δοῦναι sc.

§ 15. ἐκπόμενα...ἐπιδεικνύη. These and other treasures of Gobryas are described in V. 2, 7 as greatly astonishing the Persians on the surrender of his stronghold.

§ 16. ἦ μήν. 'I promise you.' Cf. note on VII. 2, 12.

συγγεγραμμένα. 'In writing.' This seems very likely to have been spoken in mere jest: but Breitenbach, referring to the Memorabilia iv. 2, 1, 8 (where Euthydemus is described as

collecting γράμματα πολλὰ of sophists and poets), regards it as a transference of Greek usages to the Assyrians.

οὐκ...ὅτι. 'I rather think I shall give': literally, 'I do not know if (I shall)...I may give.' οὐκ οὐδ' εἰ forms one phrase, almost = *scilicet*: ὅτι is deliberative subjunctive: cf. Jelf, 417.

§ 17. καὶ...καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δέ. 'And,' said Cyrus, 'what is more, Hystaspas—yes, and you others too here present—.' Cf. notes on section 8 above and VII. 1, 1 (καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δέ).

§ 18. καὶ γὰρ. 'I too—' as well as Gobryas, who has a daughter to give away.

§ 21. σιμή. One who is σιμὸς, says Socrates to Glaucon in Rep. 474 D, will be praised as ἐπίχαρις, 'full of grace,' while τὸ γυνὴν βασιλικὸν φέρε εἶναι: and we may compare Lucretius' *simula silena ac saturast* (iv. 1169) for the Roman view.

ἄδειπνος. sc. γυνή.

§ 22. ψυχρῷ. 'Frigid': in the double sense of making insipid jests and of being, like the Tennysonian Arthur,

' cold,
High, self-contained, and passionless—':

as he had shown himself in the matter of Pantheia (V. 1).

§ 23. γελόντων δέ. αὐτῶν sc. Cf. Jelf, 695, 3, obs. 1.

ἔπειτα...εἰ; 'Well, and would you not give a good deal to have said that, and to have it reported to her with whom you wish to stand well as a pretty fellow?' For ἔπειτα cf. note on VII. 5, 83: the colloquial 'Then do you mean to say that you would not—' exactly parallels the Greek. παμπόλλου is genitive of price after πρίαυ, which has ὅστε...εἰρησθαι ('the possibility of this having been said by you') for its object: ὅτι...εἰ is expegetetic of εὐδοκμεῖν, as ὅπως φανείσθε is of φιλονικίαν in VII. 1, 18.

§ 24. συνεστρατεύετο. Cf. III. 1, 43.

τῷ δ' Ὑρκανίῳ. Artuchas (V. 3, 38).

§ 25. πολλαπλασίων...χρημάτων. οὐσία sc.

§ 27. Ἀρτάβαζος. Cf. note on VII. 5, 48.

ὅς...παρασκευάζων. 'Be sure that I shall wait on, and not die off, and so prepare yourself.' Cf. Jelf, 702.

σκηνή. 'Banquet': a frequent use in Xenophon, probably military in origin; the place of meeting is identified with the meeting itself, as in our use of 'drawing-room.'

§ 28. πλὴν. (τούτων) sc. 'except those.' Cf. Jelf, 773, obs. 4.

§ 29. ἐπηρέταις. Cf. note on VII. 5, 18.

ἐκείνους. i.e. τοῖς μυριάρχοις.

§ 30. ἀρχων...δοκιμάζων. Cf. note on VII. 5, 8 (δύο... ἱστηκός).

ἰδιώτας. 'Privates.'

§ 31. ἦπου...ἔχει. 'He must have a good deal himself, one would think.' Cf. Jelf, 781, 1.

δοῦν γε...δέδωκεν. 'Since he has given—.' Cf. Jelf, 844 seqq.

ποῖα πολλά. Cf. note on III. 37.

§ 32. ἐπικαιρίους. Cf. note on VII. 4, 4.

τοῦμπαλιν...ἐφέλκεσθαι. 'To pull upon themselves just the reverse of what they want.' οὐδ = τοῦτου δ.

§ 33. τητῶνται. This is Dindorf's conjecture for the MS. ἡττῶνται or (as corrected in the Erlangen MS.) ἀπατῶνται. Besides its simplicity, the emendation, as its author remarks, has in its favour the possibility that Xenophon was thinking of the Hesiodic μὴ σὺ μὲν αἰτῆς ἄλλον, ὃ δ' ἀρνῆται, σὺ δὲ τητᾷ (Works and Days, 408).

§ 34. ἀπλουστάτου. ἀνδρὸς sc., genitive of character.

καὶ γὰρ οὖν. 'I, then, like these—.'

§ 35. ὥς...ἰδεῖν. 'So as not to be easily viewed.' For ὥς...εἶναι cf. Jelf, 862, and 863, 2a, and obs. 10; for ἰδεῖν, note on VII. 5, 46.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. ὥς καὶ ἀποδημεῖν. Cf. preceding note.

οὕτω δῆ. Cf. note on I. 6.

§ 2. σκηναὶ μὲν δῆ. 'Now, as to tents—.' μὲν δῆ contrasts the general mention of tents with the particular arrangement of them (εὐθὺς δὲ τοῦτο...σκηνήν) in the next sentence.

§ 4. ἐπὶ...ἀγειν. 'To the (animals) appointed to carry.'

οὕτω δῆ. 'In this way, then—.' Cf. note on I. 14.

§ 6. ἐπ' ἀναμφισβήτητον. Predicative: κατεχωρίζοντο ἐπὶ (ταύτην) ἀναμφισβήτητον ('without hesitation').

§ 7. κτήματα. If this, the MS. reading, be kept, the word must have almost the sense of Schneider's emendation πλεονεκτήματα, 'gains.'

§ 9. ἐχομένους. Cf. note on VII. 1, 9.

§ 12. ἐκάθευδον δὲ αὐτοῖς. 'And he had them sleep.' αὐτοῖς is dative of reference: cf. Jelf, 599, 1 sqq.

οὕτω δὲ καί. For δὲ in the apodosis cf. Jelf, 770 a.

εἰσι. 'Are (always).' The indicative shows that what is said of the *δυναται* is a generally-recognised military fact: the optatives following mark a hypothesis the application of which need not extend beyond Cyrus' forces.

ἐξ ἑτοίμου. 'Readily': cf. the Latin '*ex improviso*'; the action to which the phrase is adverbial is regarded as coming 'out from' the circumstances marked by the adjective.

§ 13. ὀπηρέται. Cf. note on VII. 5, 18.

τὴν συντομωτάτην. 'The shortest way': cf. Jelf, 558, 1.

§ 14. ἐχόντων. Cf. note on IV. 23.

ὅσπερ ἂν ἐμπίπτει sc.

§ 15. καὶ...γε. καί is copulative: γε contrasts *τιθέναι* with *διασπᾶν* as part with whole.

§ 17. ἔχῃ. Cf. note on I. 6.

§ 19. δίδωμι δὲ...γυναῖκα. 'Yes, I give you, Cyrus, this maiden besides.' For δὲ cf. note on VII. 1, 21: καί = 'as well as the presents.'

οὐδὲ γάρ. The force of οὐδὲ here cannot be given in translation: it co-ordinates the absence of the *ἄρρην παῖς γνήσιος* with the previous statements, as equally true.

§ 23. εἰς τὸ μέσον. Like Virgil's 'in medium' (*Georgics* iv. 157): 'for the common good.'

τὰ παρελθόντα. 'In the past': accusative of extent.

πεδίων...μετουσίαν. 'A share of the plains': the Persians having hitherto allowed their mountainous country to prevent their getting a force of cavalry.

καθ' ὅτι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλῃ. 'According as he may require': a formula commonly found in treaties, e.g. in that between Athens, Argos, Elis and Mantinea (*Thuc.* v. 47, 3).

§ 26. Κύρου. γενήσεται sc.

ἐκ τοῦ γένους. 'Of the (royal) family.'

§ 28. συνδύξαν. Cf. note on VII. 1, 42, *εἰδόν*.

ἐχών. 'With her.'

CHAPTER VI.

§ 4. δοκεῖ...ἐκεῖ. 'And I will, that to whomsoever of those among you who stay here I shall give the trouble of going to do

any business for me among these nations, such persons shall have lands and houses there.'

§ 11. ὥς...μεταδιδόναι. Cf. note on IV. 35.

§ 12. τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ. '(I mean) those with me.' οἷς is in apposition to ἀγαθοῖς: the sense of motion in ἐπικούρουν εἶναι motives the παρ' (literally '[coming] from') ἐμοῦ.

§ 14. οἷα Cf. V. 1-6.

§ 15. ὥς...ἰσομένης. Cf. note on IV. 27.

§ 16. γάρ. Continuative particle, not translated: cf. note on I. 28.

οἱ...ἐφάδων. 'Those of whom it is often said, "the king's son is coming down . . .," even though sometimes they do not appear, these belong to the circuit-goers.' γάρ in the next clause introduces the explanation of καὶ...ἐκφαινόμενοι.

§ 17. πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος. 'To meet the greatness.' Cf. note on VII. 1, 8.

ἐλαυνόμενος ὥστε διαρκεῖν. 'Ridden so as to last.'

§ 18. ἔστι δ' ὅτε. 'Est ubi,' 'sometimes.'

ἀλλ' ὅτι γε. 'Still, that—' Cf. Jelf, 774, obs. 1, and the similar use of *at* in Terence's *Si ego digna hac contumelia sum maxime, at tu indignus qui faceres tamen* (Eun. 5, 2, 25).

§ 20. ὁγί. 'Immediately.' Cf. note on VII. 8, 9.

ἐκβάντι Cf. note on V. 12.

καταστρέψασθαι δ Kūpos sc.

§ 23. ἄν goes with γενέσθαι.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. τὸ ἕβδομον. 'For the seventh time': cf. Jelf, 548 g. αὐτῷ. Cf. note on V. 12.

§ 3. Δις τε...ἄκρων. The ἄκρα here are τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν οὐρέων with Herodotus (i. 131): the 'high places' (or, properly, 'bare hills') of Jeremiah vii. 31 etc.

καὶ γὰρ. 'I for my part,' as contrasted with θεοὶ...ἐσημύνατε.

§ 9. ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν. 'Now I, as I lie here—' δὲ is continuative: νῦν contrasts his present speaking to them with their coming loss of him.

§ 11. ὥς...ἀποδέχεσθε. Cf. note on IV. 27.

Καμβύση...Ταναοξάρη. Herodotus' account of the former is in ii. 50 and iii. 1-26 sqq.: of the latter, (under the name of Smerdis) in iii. 30 sqq.

§ 12. τῷ εὐφραίνεσθαι. The simple infinitive is elsewhere found epexegetically with ἀσχολία (*e.g.* in I. 13): the difference in this present usage appears to be that the εὐφραίνεσθαι is regarded as existing independently of, and only casually disturbed by, the ἀσχολία.

§ 13. τοὺς πιστοὺς τίθεσθαι ἑαυτῷ. 'To make his lieges for himself.'

§ 15. τιμήσεται. Passive, as frequently in Attic writers.

§ 18. τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις. Honours would not be paid to the dead, unless the dead were able to receive them. Aristotle (*Ethics* 1, 10, 4) says that men generally think εἶναι τι τῷ τεθνεῶτι καὶ κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, as in the prosperity or otherwise of their children: but in 11, 5 the conclusion is that whatever reaches the dead is ἀφανρόν τι καὶ μικρόν.

§ 20. οὐδέ γε...οὐδέ. Cf. note on IV. 8.

§ 22. καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ...καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν. The first καὶ is continuative of the hypothetic clause εἰ...ταῦτα: the second particularizes τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν, as an instance of the previous general statement.

ἀλλὰ θεοὺς γε. Cf. note on VI. 18.

§ 23. τὸ ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι. Cf. Jelf, 672, 673.

§ 24. εἰ...εἶναι. For the aposiopesis, cf. VII. 5, 54, and Jelf as there quoted.

ὅποτέροις...βουλεύοισθε. The optative marks its verb as being the consequence of the previous subjunctive verb; cf. Thucydides iii. 22: the Platæans on the escape of some of their number through the besieging Theban lines, began to display fire-signals, ὅπως ἀσαφῇ τὰ σημεῖα (the signals already lighted by the Thebans to telegraph the escape to Thebes) ἦ, καὶ μὴ βοηθεῖν 'and that, as a consequence, the Thebans might not come to help.'

§ 25. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν σῶμα. For Persian burial cf. Herodotus, i. 140.

τοῦ εὐεργετοῦντος. 'Of that which does good': the neuter making the expression more general than if the reference in gender to γῇ had been kept.

§ 26. ὅθεν περ. i.e. at the extremities; cf. Lucretius iii. 528: 'cernimus...

in pedibus primum digitos livescere et unguis,
inde pedes et crura mori, post inde per artus
ire alios tractim gelidi vestigia leti.'

§ 7. ὥς...παθεῖν. Cf. note on IV. 35.

πάντα...νομίζεται. 'In all that is customary in honour of a man who has prospered.'

CHAPTER VIII.

Dindorf's judgment on this chapter, given in the preface to his edition of 1874, is as follows. 'The Epilogue of the Cyropaedia has nothing in common with the plan of the work as set forth in the Introduction' (Book I. 1), 'and bears the same relation to the rest of the book as a historical criticism would to a novel on the same subject. The Persians of the Cyropaedia show no sign of degenerating;—in the Epilogue, the writer leaves them no single good quality. It is not surprising that this chapter, written probably soon after the composition of the Cyropaedia, certainly before the overthrow of the Persian monarchy, presents, in single points of diction, hardly anything that *might* not possibly have been written by Xenophon:—hence its annexation to the Cyropaedia and its acceptance as Xenophontean from the days of Pollux and Athenaeus' (about 2nd century A.D.) 'down to the time of that most judicious discoverer of many such errors, Valckenaer.'

Ludwig Caspar Valckenaer, Professor of Greek in the University of Leyden in 1766, appears, then, to have been the first to doubt the authenticity of this chapter, though without giving any detailed discussion of it. He was followed by various scholars, for and against the chapter: and the result of the discussion up to the present time is a general agreement in the view given by Dindorf above. The chapter does indeed contain nothing of which it could be said with absolute certainty that it was not written by Xenophon: (there are, in fact, many verbal agreements in it with passages of the Cyropaedia and other works of Xenophon:) nor is the contradictory description of the Persians a fatal objection in itself, for the Persians as Xenophon knew them in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand might deserve many of the reproaches of the Epilogue. But, viewed as a whole, the chapter must strike anyone who knows Xenophon's spirit and style as altogether in disagreement with both. Thus—to take only two points—Xenophon has a symmetrical way of presenting what he has to tell, and the narrative that begins with Cyrus' childish sallies ends fitly with his death-bed speech: the Epilogue, ignoring Cyrus' prominence as hero throughout, takes us tediously back through the Persian institutions which were the outcome of his life, merely to contrast them as institutions with those of the writer's own day. Xenophon, even when treating at some length on one main subject (*e.g.* Cyrus' popularity, in Chapter 2 of Book VIII), contrives to vary the periods of his narrative, and gives unity to it from within, not by mere external construction. The writer of the Epilogue, from section 8 of it to the end of 26, balances his sentences between a *πρόσθεν μὲν* and a *νῦν γὰρ μὲν* or their equivalents, and introduces five conse-

cutive paragraphs with (1) ἀλλὰ μὴν καί.., (2) ἀλλὰ μὴν καί..., (3) ἀλλὰ τοι καί..., (4) ἀλλὰ μὴν καί..., (5) ἀλλὰ καί.... This mechanical style of composition is perfectly in keeping with the painful dullness of the *ὥς δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἔρχομαι διδάσκων* of section 2, and the *ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ οἶμαι ἅπερ ὑπεθέμην ἀπειργάσθαι μοι, φημί γάρ*, etc. of the last clauses: but, like these just quoted sentences, is very far removed from the ἀφέλεια of Xenophon. The few notes that the chapter needs are subjoined.

§ 4. εἰ τις... διακινδυνεύσει— ἤν τις... δόξη. The optative with εἰ expresses the frequent likelihood of the occurrence, so that εἰ τις almost = 'whenever anyone—'; the subjunctive with ἤν gives a hypothesis far less credible: ἤν τις δόξη = 'if a man (incredible as it may seem) should appear—'

Μισριδάτης... Ρεομίθρης. Of the former little is known beside what is stated in the text. The betrayal alluded to consisted in bringing his father into the power of Artaxerxes Mnemon, from whom Ariobarzanes (satrap of Ionia, Lydia, and Phrygia) had revolted, in B.C. 362. Rheomithres had joined this revolt, and had been sent by the revolted chiefs to ask help from Tachos, king of Egypt. He received a large sum of money and fifty ships from Tachos, with whom he left his own wife and children and the sons of several of the revolted satraps as hostages: then, summoning the confederates to meet him on his return to Asia, he sent them in chains to Artaxerxes, thus making his peace with him, and leaving Tachos to take vengeance on the hostages.

§ 7. τῷ παντί. 'In every respect.'

§ 12. Ἀρταξέρξης. Surnamed Mnemon, from his powers of memory: it was against him, in aid of his younger brother Cyrus, that Xenophon served. His reign lasted from B.C. 405 to 362.

§ 13. ἀποφαινόμενοι. τὴν τῶν ἱππικῶν μάθησιν καὶ μελετὴν *sc.*

§ 14. εἰκόασι διδασκομένοις. 'They seem to learn': literally 'they are like those learning.' The Erlangen MS. reads διδασκόμενοι, which would emphasize the statement more as one of existent fact: for the dative cf. Jelf, 682, 2.

§ 22. θωρακίσας... ἵππους. As described in VII. 1, 81.

§ 24. ἐφ' ᾧ. i.e. ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐφ' ᾧ, 'to the end to which.' Cf. Jelf, 634 e.

§ 26. ἀλλήλοισι. In such revolts as Ariobarzanes', mentioned in section 4, or the younger Cyrus'.

§ 27. ἀπειργάσθαι. Passive: as Plato uses the participle in his ἀπειργασμένος τύραννος, 'a finished tyrant,' Rep. 566 A.

APPENDIX.

FOR the text of the 'Cyropaedia,' there are three principal manuscripts; one in the National Library at Paris, one in the Ducal Library of Wolfenbüttel in Brunswick, and the third (formerly in the University Library of Altorf, now) in the University Library of Erlangen in Bavaria: these are generally quoted respectively as A, G, and D: the dates of A and G (to which the chief authority is unanimously conceded) being about the 11th century, of D (which shows many arbitrary corrections and alterations) somewhat later. There are also two Latin versions of importance in determining the text, as their authors may have had before them MSS. not now discoverable: these are by Franciscus Philolphus (Francesco Filelfo, 1398-1481), the celebrated teacher of Greek at Florence, and Julius Gabrielius, also an Italian scholar, who published his work in 1569 at Venice.

As given in the foregoing pages, the text varies little from Dindorf's in his Oxford edition of 1857, except that his uniform corrections of the MS. readings into strict Attic forms have not been generally followed. The annotated editions referred to in the notes, beside those quoted at second-hand, are the following:—(1) That of Stephanus, published in 1561. (2) Hutchinson's, published at Oxford in 1727. (3) Zeune's, at Leipzig in 1780. (4) Hertlein's, at Berlin in 1871. (5) Breitenbach's, at Leipzig in 1878.

